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The American Historical Review

NORTH CAROLINA MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE meetings of the Association in the South have left pleasant memories. To be able to say, "I was at New Orleans in 1903", or "I attended the Charleston meeting in 1913" still wins instant and interested attention. In the *Review* of April, 1925, it is stated by a high authority that "Many if not all of those who attended the Richmond meeting of 1908 regarded it as the pleasantest the Association had ever held". According to the same high authority, it seems to have been matched by the Richmond meeting of 1924. That the Association enjoys its meetings in the South is, therefore, not an accident, nor a coincidence, but a natural law. The meeting at Durham and Chapel Hill again illustrated the rule. Even the North Carolina weather man acted *ex officio* as a member of the local committee on arrangements, for not a drop of rain fell during the three days of the sessions, and the members from the Far and Frozen North who saw on December 31 the blue sky at Chapel Hill, who glowed in its sunshine, and who breathed the soft air, will never forget the last day of 1929.

The hospitality was as generous as the skies. Three luncheons were offered to as many conferences at Chapel Hill, and four at Duke University. After the presidential address there was a "smoker" at the Union on the North Campus of Duke University, and on the next afternoon a tea at the South Campus. Those who had thoughtfully brought their golf sticks were invited to meet the hazards of the Hope Valley Country Club.

The number in attendance was a surprise—593. What is, perhaps, more surprising, 155 came from west of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio River. Nearly 250 came from the northeastern section of the country. Approximately 154 came from the southeastern states and 34 from the Southwest.

Three other historical societies held meetings on the same days: the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Agricultural His-

tory Society, and the History of Science Society. There were also a Conference of Historical Societies and two sessions with the National Council of Social Studies. The sessions of the first day, with the exception of that for the presidential address, were held at the Washington Duke Hotel, the headquarters in Durham, or at the Chamber of Commerce. The next morning the Association and the societies migrated to Chapel Hill, a dozen miles to the southwest, but returned to Durham for the annual banquet. On the third day the North Campus of Duke University was the place of five morning sessions and three in the afternoon. All sessions were well attended, although some thinning out naturally occurred on the final afternoon as trains were leaving for the North.

The Auditorium at the North Campus was filled on Monday evening in anticipation of the president's address. Years ago, when "Professor" Robinson was a more constant attendant at the meetings of the Association, lobbies and vestibules were emptied by the exclamation "Robinson's up!" The traditional anticipation was not disappointed as those who heard or have read the address in the January *Review* are aware. At the close of the address came a surprise to the speaker and to all the audience except the initiated. Professor David Saville Muzzey, of Columbia University, in a felicitous address presented to Dr. Robinson a memorial volume to which those who had worked in his seminars had contributed essays. Among these essays were "Toleration", by Professor Muzzey himself, the "Place of History among the Sciences", by Preserved Smith, the "Philosopher turned Patriot", by Carlton J. H. Hayes, "Baron von Holstein", by Maude A. Huttmann, and the "Inside of Germany's War Politics", by Charles A. Beard.

The program, upon which Professor William K. Boyd and his committee had worked with such generous expenditure of thought, was of extraordinary variety and interest. The twenty-two sessions and seven luncheon conferences touched many phases of history, but it was natural that American history should lead in the number of subjects treated. There were sessions on American Foreign Policy, American Social History, the Jacksonian Democracy, American Colonial History, besides a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association which naturally dealt with phases of American history, and two sessions and two luncheon conferences on the history of the South. Next to American history in point of attention came Modern European history with four sessions and a luncheon conference. No one could repeat the criticism heard a few years ago that Modern European history was neglected by the Program Committee.

One of the most important enterprises of the Association is entrusted to the Commission on Social Studies of which Professor A. C. Krey is chairman. A brief statement of its progress and its committees appeared in the January *Review*. At a meeting in New York in November the Commission had approved a testing program presented by Professor Truman L. Kelley. At Durham Mr. Krey first sketched the present stage which the work of the Commission had reached and called upon Mr. Kelley to discuss the Possibilities of Testing Values in the Teaching of the Social Studies. A primary difficulty Mr. Kelley found in the lack of agreement as to what the values are. This he felt to be not altogether unfortunate, because it indicated that these studies had not yet become "mummified". If social studies should be made the core of the curriculum, their aims should be conceived in as broad terms as possible and should be concerned with attitudes of mind rather than specific types of conduct. Mr. Kelley said that attitudes can be measured by techniques which are a "cross between those employed in the measurement of knowledge and of habit". A certain word may be chosen as the cue and the association of the child with it may indicate a slant on things. The measurement of the capacity of the child to apply principles and laws is equally interesting. Here tests must be devised which bring out something essentially different from acts of memory. Novel content must be used, Mr. Kelley showed, and in such a way as to call for the use of knowledge in dealing with situations which were not anticipated.

The discussion was opened by Laurence B. Packard, of Amherst College, who spoke of the problem of what should be included in the secondary school curriculum as judged by the competence of graduates who later undertake college courses in history. The next speaker, O. M. Dickerson, of Teachers College, Greeley, Colorado, expressed the feeling that two pitfalls were to be avoided: getting lost in a maze of philosophical discussion of ultimate aims and attempting to test everything. He thought that it would be unfortunate if anyone inferred from Dr. Kelley's paper that content was unimportant, for it is our specific task to equip the student with definite information concerning the economic, social, and political world, to teach him how to test this information and to add to it.

A luncheon conference followed in which it was proposed to discuss Regional Differences in the Treatment of the Social Studies. Mr. Dickerson led this discussion, giving the results of his observations in the schools of Detroit, Boston, New York, and Washington. He found that specific instruction in local history is usually given in the early grades, before the ninth. He found also that if a local

economic interest had become vocal, and was much discussed in the newspapers, it was likely to find its way into the schoolroom. Edgar Dawson, of Hunter College, thought we were moving toward a rational compromise between the claims of local interests and the demands of the more general body of historical fact, and this is to teach the development of mankind, but to select many of the concrete illustrations from local conditions in their proper, chronological order. The discussion was closed by Lawrence V. Roth, president of the New England History Teachers' Association.

After the luncheon the Introductory Course in the College Curriculum claimed the attention of those interested in the problems of teaching. The points of view of three departments of history were represented: by Witt Bowden, for the University of Pennsylvania, Harry J. Carman, for Columbia, and Arthur H. Noyes, for Ohio State University. All recognized the fact that the vast increase in the number of entering students has forced upon college teachers a restudy of the whole problem. Witt Bowden found the solution in developing the individual work of the student, in more conferences, and less mass instruction. He also urged that teachers of history utilize historical exhibits and laboratories, that in this respect they recapture a position of equality with science teachers. Harry J. Carman explained that at Columbia they dealt with entering students on the assumption that they might be roughly classified in three groups: (1) those who desire a general education, (2) those who look forward to advanced scholarly work, and (3) those preparing for a professional career. Through placement and achievement tests certain students begin what are called maturity courses. The general object of the work of the first two years is to orient the student, in order that he may do more intensive work in his chosen field in his junior and senior years. At Ohio State University, according to Professor Noyes, two methods were being tested, lectures with quizzes, and the more traditional class discussions, five days a week. Professor Noyes also emphasized the need of a faculty interested in the problem, and made up of men successful in this type of instruction.

This year again an experiment was made of devoting a session to the discussion of a single theme. Dixon Ryan Fox was asked to set forth a Synthetic Principle in American History. The plan was to print his essay in the January *Review* and send proof sheets to several interested in the problem. The result was a lively session, with some good-tempered intellectual skirmishing. As the readers of the *Review* will recall, Mr. Fox, after a witty inquiry into the differences between the historians themselves upon the question

what history really is, and into the diverse schemes for organizing material, suggested that the concept of social evolution offers a plan for bringing "an immense number of seemingly discrete facts into an understandable relation". He conceded that this framework does not integrate everything, and that "much has to be hung on other racks". An incidental, and somewhat jocular, allusion to the emphasis which he thought that the Beards had put upon the contest of economic classes in their exposition of American history provoked one of the most interesting exchanges of the occasion. Mr. Beard, who had been invited to take part in this discussion, declared that he did not and never did believe in the doctrine of the economic man, nor consciously subscribe to any such creed as Mr. Fox appeared to find in their book. What he did believe was that all men, women, and children, all the time, must have food, clothing, and shelter, and that the ways in which they acquire these necessities have a profound, constant, and inescapable influence on all departments of their life, political, moral, æsthetic, and religious. Economic development therefore furnishes one structure for grouping. "Moreover, it seems to me", said Mr. Beard, "to be illuminating in surprising ways." Mr. Fox, in his reply, conceded that the sentence in his paper referring to the Beards' *Rise of American Civilization* contained an ellipsis which might lead to misunderstanding; the group rivalries which the Beards trace, he explained, wherein the agricultural interest, the mercantile interest, the manufacturing interest, etc., are posed against each other, though fundamentally economic, produce a very different sort of conflict, of course, from that envisaged by Marx in his theory of class struggle. Mr. Beard added another interesting comment. Mr. Fox's concept of social evolution reminded him of Spencer's famous but abstract description of the process of evolution, and, to the amusement of the audience, Mr. Beard drew forth from the archives of his memory Spencer's ponderous progression from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, etc., etc., and added that when you try to work out the structure on the differentiation theory you will find economics running into the most minute ramifications of it. Among others who discussed the paper were Joseph Schafer and Solon J. Buck. Mr. Buck expressed the opinion that social historians, reacting against an overemphasis of political and even economic facts, are in some danger of producing works no more general or comprehensive than those of their predecessors, and especially lacking in unity. The most obvious synthetic principle, he said, for a general history of the United States is the fact that the United States is a nation—a political entity—and that its people are citizens

thereof. This does not mean, he added, that histories should be narrowly political. Mr. Schafer's comments are developed in an editorial in the March issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. They called attention to the diversity of motive in human action, so that no one principle of organization, social in the sense which Mr. Fox indicated, or economic in Mr. Beard's conception of history, should be allowed to push others to one side.

In describing the sessions on the several fields of history, we may, for convenience of analysis, follow the accepted chronology and begin with Ancient history. This was devoted to a consideration of the Later Hellenic World. The first paper was by Clinton W. Keyes, of Columbia University, Specimens of Government Bookkeeping from Roman Egypt. In it Professor Keyes gave examples of the important day books and ledgers now preserved at Columbia University, and discussed their bearings on the economic life of Roman Egypt. The next paper was by N. C. Debevoise, of the University of Chicago, on the Historical Importance of Parthia. The Parthian period is still one of the blanks in the history of the world although much available source material has not been utilized and more is constantly discovered. A distinction must be drawn between the Parthians and the people of their empire, many of whom retained a large measure of their own culture. In Babylonia, for example, elements of earlier civilizations survived in art, architecture, religion, science, economic life, and thought of the people. The discussion, led by A. T. Olmstead, of the University of Chicago, emphasized the unity of ancient history and the close connection between East and West in the later ancient history. The chairman, Arthur E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan, gave a brief report on the important Michigan excavations at Karanis in the Egyptian Fayum and at Seleucia in Babylonia.

The sessions on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance dealt with two aspects of the same theme, two attitudes toward divergencies of thought or belief, a morning session on Heresy and Persecution, and an afternoon session on Ideas of Toleration. Ernest W. Nelson, of Duke University, explained the Theory of Persecution. He found that the later Roman imperial government sought through enforcement of conformity to achieve moral unity and so to impart new vigor to the declining state. The medieval church motive is to be found in Augustine's conception of life and the relation of the secular to the spiritual authorities, a conception which dominated the whole medieval point of view. Heresy was looked upon as a crime of such enormity that even the dead bodies of heretics were objects of vengeance. Punishments short of death were in the nature of spirit-

ual preventive medicine. Austin P. Evans, of Columbia University, in a suggestive paper on the Social Aspects of Heresy, showed that heresy had been studied too much from the point of view of religious conceptions and that its social causes needed investigation. He noted the fact that as the narrow localism of the medieval world gave way before the rise of commerce and the development of the towns, heresy became an alarming phenomenon. In a final paper Dorothy Louise Mackay, of West Virginia University, said, apropos of Restrictions on the Teacher in the Medieval University of Paris, that as long as medieval teachers avoided "errors against the Faith" they were comparatively free. There were, of course, requirements of training A. H. Sweet, of Washington and Jefferson College, opened the discussion, calling attention to the fact that persecution was sometimes a defense mechanism to guard the community against what was considered harmful.

With the Renaissance came defenders of the idea of toleration. One of these was Erasmus. Wallace K. Ferguson, of New York University, expressed the feeling that in his case the effort has been to search through his writings for occasional *obiter dicta* and he urged that a better method is to study the implications of Erasmus's whole attitude toward life, religion, and morals. Roland H. Bainton, of Yale University, dealt with Castellio, whose principal expression of toleration came in a reply to Calvin's charge of scepticism provoked by Castellio's leadership in the protest against the burning of Servetus. In this work Castellio pointed out that in such cases judgment is blunted by prejudice, hate, and ambition. He also held that truth and error are to be perceived through experience as well as through revelation and that both sources are subject to rational criticism. Frederic C. Church, of the University of Idaho, dealt with an especially attractive character, Lelio Sozzini, or Socinus, a gentle, manly, scholarly, and sincerely religious nature, a student more than a teacher. Only Calvin discerned in the intellectual distress of the young man a determined effort to confute those to whom truth had been providentially imparted and who were therefore its authoritative defenders. George L. Burr, who led the discussion, pointed to two positive contributions which Erasmus made to toleration, supplying the town of Basel the religious ordinance which first provided for freedom of worship, and writing the little tract on the measureless mercy of God (*De immensa misericordia Dei*, 1524). Professor Burr also recalled the fact that Castellio's booklet in protest at the fate of Servetus was so eagerly read that the copies were literally worn out; but the traces of its influence are everywhere.

The session on English history was devoted to the seventeenth

century. The first paper, by W. Frank Craven, of New York University, touched early American colonial history as well as an English problem. He sought to show that the Dissolution of the London Company of Virginia was due not so much to the machinations of the Court party as to the ill-advised efforts of Sandys to increase the population of Virginia without adequate supplies. The most interesting incidental argument was based on evidence that the charge of a too "Democratical and Tumultuous" government did not apply to the make-up of the Assembly in Virginia, but to the fact that the votes in the company at London were so counted that the minor adventurers had as much influence as the men with a greater number of shares. The second paper, by Clyde L. Grose, of Northwestern University, was also in a sense an historical revision. Dealing with Cromwellian Ideals during the Restoration, it gave another illustration of the error in fixing the attention in the case of revolutions or restorations upon change, rather than upon persistence or continuity. His subtitle, Comparative Insignificance of the Year 1660, emphasized his idea. He finds that British foreign policy from 1650 to 1674 was dominated by commercial hatred of the Dutch and that the advent of Charles II. made no change, not even a ripple. Another phase of the same tendency was the development of "sea-mindedness", with which Charles and his brother James were in entire sympathy. The third paper, on the First Earl of Shaftesbury, by Louise Fargo Brown, of Vassar College, credited this noble lord with the ideas which were embodied in the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina. John Locke was simply the secretary who put them into shape. In opening the discussion F. G. Marcham, of Cornell University, referring to Professor Grose's emphasis upon elements of continuity in the Restoration, remarked that it was more important to account for continuity than to detect it. He believed that the forces which prevented violent change might be found in the persistence of interest in property, illustrated in the development of estates through enclosures, marriage contracts, and control of commercial companies. The men of property held the government to a policy of moderate change.

Three sessions were given to Modern European history, besides one on Recent Russian history. Each of the three topics provoked a lively discussion after the more formal papers were read. Under the head of Nineteenth Century Nationalism, Kent R. Greenfield, of Yale University, described certain neglected forces which prepared the way for the work of Cavour. Attention is commonly fixed upon the group of revolutionaries of the type of Mazzini who moved from one abortive attempt to another to overthrow the reactionary govern-

ments of the peninsula. Mr. Greenfield found a more constructive force in the journalistic propaganda inspired by the teachings of Gian Domenico Romagnosi, who saw in the economic revolution, and the scientific movement which was a part of it, a means by which, without resorting to illegal action, an impulse could be given to the life of Italy that would lead to its regeneration. The relation of Michelet to French Nationalism was then described by F. B. Artz, of Oberlin College. Mr. Artz explained the influences which contributed to Michelet's intellectual development, the influence of Herder, Cousin, and Vico, and the stimulus which came from Michelet's friendship with Quinet. Mr. Artz did not find in Michelet a consistent body of doctrine which might be described as nationalistic. His contribution was a gospel rather than a doctrine. The discussion turned on the definition of nationalism and the period of its appearance.

The session on Diplomatic Episodes of the Later Era was opened by M. B. Giffen, of Tarkio College, with a discussion of the reasons why the Fashoda Incident closed as it did with the abandonment by France of the aims, deliberately chosen, of the Marchand mission. The secret he found not so much in the naval preponderance of Great Britain and Lord Salisbury's resolute attitude, as in the general diplomatic situation of Europe. Russia's interests were too much engaged in the Far East in 1898 to support France in arms, and the plan of M. Hanotaux for a rapprochement with Germany ended in an inevitable fiasco. Nothing remained for France but to yield. Two papers attempted to state with precision the influence which the press exerted in European affairs before the war. Oron J. Hale, of the University of Virginia, dealt with the years of the first Moroccan crisis, and E. Malcolm Carroll, of Duke University, analyzed French Public Opinion during the Balkan Crisis. Probably the most significant evidence of the effective influence of the press, according to Mr. Hale, may be found in the French press campaign in the early fall of 1905 after the overthrow of Delcassé, led by Stéphane Lauzanne in the *Matin,* when the acceptance of the project of a conference caused the Germans to hope for a rapprochement with France. In that case France might become a third in the Björkö treaty. The result of this newspaper outburst was that on October 15 Nelidov informed Lamsdorff that to broach the subject of the treaty of Björkö at present would alienate French opinion. Mr. Carroll in dealing with the Balkan crisis naturally commented upon the wholesale bribery of the press in France attributed to Izvolski. Other influences, the speaker said, were at work. Poincaré, then at the head of the French cabinet, through the French

finance minister, who was to control the expenditure, used the money for purposes not contemplated by the Russians. In the end, however, the Russians gained what they wanted, the silence of the radical opposition to a war for Russia's interests in the Balkans.

At the same hour and attracting a large audience was a session on Recent and Contemporary Civilization. It was opened by William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, with a review of the elements entering into the Industrial Revolution of the Twentieth Century, which for want of a better term has sometimes been called the technological revolution. The elements of this Mr. Lingelbach found in the development of a technique of discovery and invention, the extensive use of electricity, and the application of chemistry to industry and agriculture. Charles A. Beard, of New York, followed with an analysis and interpretation of the attitude of labor, showing that it is not international, as in the days of Engel and Marx, but distinctly nationalistic. Foreign labor is no longer welcomed in the United States, which is not now the refuge for the discontented or the unemployed, but, rather, the closed corporation of the "100 per cent. American" laborer. The third paper, by F. Lee Benns, of Indiana University, explained the organization and described the achievements of the League of Nations. He emphasized its advantages as an international clearing-house for disputes and problems, and as a center for humanitarian endeavor. In the discussion of the papers Professor Cheyney made the hopeful comment that possibly a revolution other than industrial was in progress, and that an internationalism exemplified by the League would become supreme, in spite of the disruptive and warlike effects of nationalism.

It may be convenient to place the session on Recent Russia in this group, for the subjects discussed belong quite as much to European history as to the policies of the Russian government. Especially is this true of the paper on the Straits Question, 1915–1923, by Robert J. Kerner, of the University of California. Mr. Kerner explained that after the agreement of 1915 by which England and France had consented to the acquisition of the Straits and of Constantinople, and so had endorsed Russia's "historic mission", Sazonov's policy for the next two years looked to the actual seizure of these spoils of war before any peace conference might be called. The Communist Party and the significance of its aims and its work was the subject discussed by Samuel N. Harper, of the University of Chicago, while M. Karpovich, of Harvard University, indicated the Place of Bolshevism in the History of Russian Socialism.

The luncheon conference of members interested in Modern European history was of special importance because here was to be determined the question of a further organization of the group. After Bernadotte E. Schmitt, the editor of the *Journal of Modern History,* had explained the experiences of the first year, the group decided, in compliance with the expressed wish of the University of Chicago Press, the publishers of the *Journal,* to organize as a distinct section. The purpose is to provide support for the new journal and to furnish the machinery necessary for the selection of its board of editors. In accordance with the constitution, accepted by the conference, the section selected as its first officers: C. P. Higby, of the University of Wisconsin, chairman; L. B. Packard, of Amherst, as secretary; W. E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, W. T. Morgan, of Indiana University, and Ernest W. Nelson, of Duke University, as the three directors. The new constitution may be found in the March number of the *Journal of Modern History.*

It is now time to turn to the menu offered by the American history group. The first session was devoted to American Foreign Policy. Here the aim was not so much to explain the policy as to indicate opportunities for further research. This, Samuel F. Bemis, of George Washington University, did in an illuminating paper. He showed that the time was past when the student should be content to base his conclusions upon the material found in a single archive. He also explained that it is becoming more and more possible to use material on American foreign policy from the archives of governments with whom we have dealt because of the enormous collections of photostats which already exist in the Library of Congress and which will be increased steadily during the coming years. In the discussion that followed, Tyler Dennett, of the Department of State, expressed regret that more use was not made of the archives of that department by mature, well-equipped students. Joseph V. Fuller, also of the Department of State, spoke of the difficulties in the use of post-war material and urged students to go into earlier fields. The fact that much light is found in private correspondence or personal papers was brought out by Clarence R. Williams, of the Library of Congress, and this evoked a little discussion between the representatives of the two ends of the Avenue.

In the session on American Colonial history the first two papers dealt with phases in the development of British colonial administration. With the subject English Administrative Methods and Policy, 1689–1715, Gertrude A. Jacobsen, of Hunter College, told of the time when Whitehall began to take on its modern and impersonal

character, when modern departments appeared and office methods were systematized. The significance of the establishment of a supreme military command, half a century later, was the subject of a paper entitled Imperial Unity, 1760–1774, by Clarence E. Carter, of Miami University, for Grenville's program made the commander-in-chief an important agency for the enforcement of the trade laws and the Mutiny Act. He also had charge of the unorganized Western territories and of Indian affairs. The attitude of the British public toward the disruption of this unity, or British Opinion of the American Revolution, was the subject of the third paper, by Dora M. Clark, of Wilson College. The landowners whose pocketbooks were becoming sensitive to the government's ever increasing demands for money were anxious that the colonials should be made to bear a share of the burden. The merchants, on the other hand, naturally did not want to arouse the anger of their customers, so that the repeal of the Stamp Act may be regarded as their victory. After fighting actually began the Americans had no friends except political liberals. In 1778 the country gentlemen experienced a change of heart, because taxes rose sharply and land values declined. Even placemen finally abandoned the government, and the end of the war was in sight. A dramatic interest was added to the discussion, which Charles M. Andrews, of Yale University, opened, by the announcement of Randolph G. Adams, of the William L. Clements Library, that the General Gage papers had just been acquired for this library. Professor Carter's thesis of the importance of the supreme military command was illustrated in the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, when Helen Louise Shaw, of Ogontz School, dealt with British Administration of the Southern Indian Department, especially under John Stuart, the first superintendent of the Southern Indians. His territory included the region between the Floridas, the "Line" of 1763, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. Stuart gradually enlarged his personnel so that at the outbreak of the Revolution the British government possessed in it a machinery easily converted into war-time services. During the war, unfortunately for the British, the Indians did not always draw fine distinctions between "Loyalist" and "Rebel" scalplocks. The paper of Walter P. Webb, of the University of Texas, in the same session, marks a new stage in the study of the frontier in American history, for he showed that settlement was for decades practically stopped at the "timber line", approximately the 98th parallel. Beyond that line a new technique was required suited to the Great Plains, the absence of timber, a lessened rainfall, and the character of the rivers. The invention of barbed wire in 1873 and its produc-

tion in quantity made up so far as fences were concerned for the lack of wood. The knowledge of irrigation practiced in the Old World could be utilized to a degree, but the methods of dry-farming were a lesson learned in the region itself. The final paper was on Recent Industrial Growth and Politics in the Southern Appalachian Region and was presented by John D. Barnhart, of West Virginia University.

Another American history session had as its theme Jacksonian Democracy. William MacDonald, of New York City, gave a Century Estimate. Today, he said, Jackson's limitations seem greater than his achievements. There was something hollow, he felt, even about Jackson's thinking of the people as a sovereign body whom he represented and served, for he made no particular effort to learn public opinion before he took action upon a particular question. He was quite ready to invoke it later in his support. Moreover, his intellectual capacity was not great so that his career shows a strong mixture of soundness and folly, of force and crudity, of truth and absurdity. The paper of William E. Smith, of Miami University, on F. P. Blair, Journalist, illustrated similar Jacksonian qualities. If he was confronted with baffling problems he often exclaimed, "Send it to Bla-ar". The *Globe,* which Blair owned, gave the cue to the Jackson press. His editorial policy was to "shoot the deserters" and to "carry the war into Africa". The Political Geography of Southern Jacksonism, by Thomas P. Abernethy, of the University of Alabama, brought the evidence of political geography to the discussion, for it showed that the support of Jackson in the Southwest in 1824 came from the popular elements, affected by the financial distress which followed the panic of 1819. The wealthier, conservative class were in the opposition. In the Southeast this was strong enough to carry the election for Crawford. These political differences were practically submerged during the campaigns of 1828 and 1832, but reappeared in 1836. In the discussion which centered on Mr. MacDonald's paper Eugene C. Barker, of the University of Texas, pointed out that Jackson was faced with very practical problems, the spoils system, for example, and his actions were mere practical actions suggested by questions of the moment. They should not be judged primarily upon standards determined by the perspective of a century.

The joint meeting with the History of Science Society found its themes also in the field of American history. Two of the papers dealt with the influence of foreign scientists upon American thinkers and teachers. Lao G. Simons, of Hunter College, studied one

element, the influence of mathematicians like Lagrange, Laplace, and Legendre upon American mathematics. Evarts B. Greene, the incoming president of the Association, going back a little further in time, presented interesting facts about the Popularization of Science during the American Revolution. He began with the scientific amateurs, including politicians like Jefferson, Madison, and James Bowdoin, mentioning the members of the two scientific societies, the American Philosophical Society, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He finally undertook to show the extent to which European studies were familiar to Americans, as indicated by titles in book advertisements, reprints, and references in letters. The concluding paper was a Century of American Geodesy by Florian Cajori, of the University of California, which explained the development of the United States Coast Survey not only in territorial measurements, but also in locating uncharted rocks, banks, and shoals along the shores.

It has already been remarked that the history of the South received appropriate emphasis at Durham and at Chapel Hill. There was a luncheon conference on Southern history, in which E. Merton Coulter, now visiting professor at the University of Texas, and Herman C. Nixon, of Tulane University, discussed the problems of the field and the difficulties surrounding research and publication. Another aspect of the same question was treated in the joint luncheon conference with the Agricultural History Society, where the material to be studied, rather than the conclusions to be reached, was the subject. Kathleen Bruce, of the College of William and Mary, indicated a mine of material in the private papers of the Virginia planters, and discussed, as an illustration, the Bruce papers in Berry Hill Plantation House, Halifax County. These are the records of James Bruce and of his son James C. Bruce, and furnish information on six southside counties from 1802 to 1865. J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, of the University of North Carolina, threw additional light on these plantation records from his twenty years' experience in connection with the Southern Historical Collection at the university. He deplored the fact that few records exist of the conditions on the small farms, which greatly outnumbered the plantations. His closing remark about the willingness of people to entrust their records to such collections as that at Chapel Hill, about their real historical-mindedness, is encouraging. Charles W. Ramsdell, of the University of Texas, explained the difficulties of discovering adequate material on the Agricultural History of the Confederacy. Only one agricultural journal, the *Southern Cultivator,* seems to have continued publication during the war. Much may be found in the Adjutant General's

office at Washington among the manuscripts of the "Confederate Archives"; but these are ill-arranged.

The session on Agricultural history discussed two phases of Southern agriculture, the Economic Efficiency and Comparative Advantage in Competition of Slavery under the Plantation System, presented by L. C. Gray, of the Department of Agriculture, and Commercial Fertilizers in the South, by R. H. Taylor, of Furman University. The third paper, on Aspects of the French Contribution to American Agriculture before 1766, was not restricted to Southern conditions.

The South also was the theme at the luncheon conference on the History of Science, and here Richard H. Shryock, of Duke University, gave an illuminating account of Medical Practice in the Antebellum South. The most notable contribution to any aspect of Southern history was made at the Association banquet, by R. D. W. Connor, of the University of North Carolina, whose penetrating and brilliant interpretation of the recent history of his state, with the descriptive title of the Rehabilitation of a Rural Commonwealth, delighted a throng of diners. Under its impressions the members of the Association went to the General Session, of which the theme was the South, Recent and Contemporary.

It is significant that the emphasis in this General Session was all on economic history. The first paper, by Lester J. Cappon, of the University of Virginia, on the Iron Industry in the New South, pointed out that by 1860 the industry had won a place even in Northern and Eastern markets. Southern charcoal iron had such a reputation that ironmasters after the Civil War were slow to turn to the use of coke. Mr. Cappon's main theme was the growth of the industry since the war. C. Chilton Pearson, of Wake Forest College, dealing with the Social Aspects of Prohibition showed that the anti-liquor movement, especially in Virginia, has been found in the middle class, which laid emphasis on the "useful virtues". The highest and lowest classes were in the opposition, but in recent years their political power has been ebbing. Monroe Work, of Tuskegee Institute, discussed the Economic Progress of the Negro. To some Northerners it may have come as a surprise to see a dark face on the platform of a session dealing with the South in a Southern state. One of the speaker's striking remarks was that the controversy over negro suffrage had led people to overlook the equally important economic rights which the 14th Amendment granted. He was convinced that the startling loss of interest in elections, revealed in the increase of white absentees, was due to the laws disfranchising the negro. The leader of the discussion was Holland Thompson, of

the College of the City of New York, and he treated especially the causes of discontent among the new town-bred textile workers, who had forgotten how opportunities for work in the mills had ameliorated the lot of the earlier rural population.

The Revolution in the West was commemorated at a luncheon, and virtually at a dinner also. At the luncheon, James A. James, of Northwestern University, the biographer of George Rogers Clark, was appropriately chosen to speak of Clark's lesser known associates, Vigo and Pollock in particular. The dinner which called to mind the Revolutionary West was the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The speaker was Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, and his subject was a Pre-Revolutionary Revolt in the Old Southwest. At times it seemed as if he were engaged in one of the popular sports of the day, debunking the Fathers. This he disclaimed, and urged eloquently that they were after all human, and that land hunger might well have imparted an added energy to their more abstract love of liberty.

The session devoted to Hispanic American history took its subject from the history of the South American states themselves, rather than from the sphere of irritating controversies with the United States. Isaac J. Cox, of Northwestern University, under the title of the Development of Political Parties in Chile, described the pseudo-parliamentary system which dominated Chilean politics for thirty years after the overthrow of Balmaceda. It was a system of parliamentary groups, most members of which aspired to be cabinet officers. William S. Robertson, of the University of Illinois, discussed Foreign Estimates of the Argentine Dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas. He showed that Rosas was a consummate poseur and maintained a skillful diplomatic and journalistic propaganda both at home and abroad. A third paper, by William W. Pierson, of the University of North Carolina, advanced the idea that the influence of France on the Political Theories of Venezuela was a constant force while that of the United States was intermittent.

The session on the Far East, ignoring the turmoil of recent Chinese politics, was devoted to pure history. William Hung, of Harvard University, commenting on the So-called Nestorianism in the T'ang Dynasty, remarked that the study of the monument found in Si-an-fu had led to the discovery of two Chinese manuscripts, now preserved in Japan, which exhibit the efforts of a foreigner to discuss in the Chinese language, which he had not mastered, profound theological problems. When their contents are considered together with certain statements in the Nestorian inscription evidence points to the presence of Jacobite as well as Nestorian missions in

China. Arthur W. Hummel, of the Library of Congress, in discussing Chinese Historical Scholarship in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries remarked that many of the "left-over scholars" of the Ming dynasty refused to serve the Manchus after the dynastic revolution of 1644. They, and especially Huang Tsung-hsi, devoted their energies to a critical evaluation of the national heritage and so developed a new school of historical and literary criticism. The Manchus were thus indirectly of assistance in the renaissance of historical studies. A third paper by Berthold Laufer, of the Field Museum, was on the Chinese Tradition of Fu-sang.

The conference of the state and local Historical Societies and that of the Public Archives Commission were concerned chiefly with the problem of archives. In the latter conference George S. Godard, state librarian of Connecticut, dealt with the legislation touching this problem during the past year. He had found 333 acts, certainly strong evidence of a lively interest. Margaret C. Norton, superintendent of the Illinois State Archives, explained the methods adopted in that state. It was noticeable that in the discussion the emphasis was not so much upon making material available for research as for rendering it accessible for the practical ends of administration. In the conference of the Historical Societies, Newton D. Mereness, of Washington, D. C., gave a survey of the location of documentary material concerned with such topics as acquisition of territory, frontier defense, distribution of public lands, territorial governments, transportation, pointing out what might be found in the files of Congress, in the departments of State, of War, and the Interior. James A. Robertson, editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, noted that in the United States the most important repository is the Library of Congress, one collection of which, the East Florida Papers, contains approximately 65,000 manuscripts. Others are found in the British Record Office, for the period of British occupation, but greatest of all is the collection in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville. Julian P. Boyd, of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, told of the significant effort of that society to present in its proposed edition of the Susquehannah Papers a work of technical excellence. The society is ambitious to show what can be done by a local organization, unsupported by government grants.

A group from teacher training institutions as widely separated as those of Michigan, Kansas, Colorado, and West Virginia, in an informal conference, decided to hold sessions in connection with the annual meetings of the Association. Oliver M. Dickerson was asked to arrange for such a session for next December. One of the aims

of this enterprise is to create a wider interest in the Association among instructors in teacher training institutions.

The annual business meeting came while the Association was at Chapel Hill. In the absence of the president, and the vice-presidents, Dr. J. F. Jameson was asked to preside. A report was made for the Pacific Coast Branch by Robert J. Kerner. There were also reports from the Endowment Committee by Harry J. Carman, and the Revolving Fund Committee, by Edward P. Cheyney. The report of the treasurer was accepted. The secretary, Dexter Perkins, discussed many of the problems of the Association and pointed out much that was hopeful in the present organization of research and the means available to facilitate such work. Among the first questions which he raised was that of the treasurership. He said:

> Mr. Charles Moore, who has for more than ten years given such self-sacrificing and helpful service to the Association, not only in the administration of its finances, but also as a wise counsellor in its technical affairs, has signified his desire to lay down the office of Treasurer. Acting on this intimation, the Nominating Committee put forward the name of Mr. Fairfax Harrison, the president of the Southern Railroad. Mr. Harrison's acceptance was obtained, and as the membership is aware, the report of the Nominating Committee went forth with his name. Since its printing, however, Mr. Harrison has signified, to his own great regret, that the pressure of duties which he could not foresee two months ago will compel him to renounce the Treasurership. It should be said, however, that Mr. Moore, with his accustomed generosity, has signified his willingness to serve until the question of a successor can be fully and wisely determined.

The secretary called attention to the fact that the Council had approved the plan of associating a Trust Company with the treasurer in the management of the funds of the Association. These funds are becoming so considerable that no one would care to accept the responsibility of the office without the assistance of those whose business it is to keep in constant touch with every phase of the investment problem.

Apropos of the endowment campaign the secretary expressed the view that it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of what had actually been accomplished. For one thing it had enabled the Association to face the added expense occasioned by the termination of relations between the *Review* and the Carnegie Institution of Washington. But this had been only a part of the gain. The secretary remarked:

> We dispose of special funds to the amount of $125,000 for the promotion of encouragement of historical investigation and historical writing in the field of American history. The Griswold fund of $25,000 and the Beveridge fund, which will eventually attain $100,000, give us resources

of very great importance, and the wise handling of which is a matter of profound significance to the Association.

Provision has now been made for the use of both these funds, along lines helpful to the interests of American historical scholarship at large. The Griswold fund is to be devoted to the preparation of materials illustrative of the legal history of the United States in the colonial period. The implications of this project are far-reaching. It should be of great interest alike to the social, to the political and to the legal historian. Much encouragement has been given it by eminent representatives of the legal profession. It is under the direction of Professor E. B. Greene, which constitutes a guarantee of the scholarship which will be brought to its realization.

The Beveridge fund, by vote of the Council, is to be devoted to the preparation of one or more volumes illustrative of the state of public opinion in the United States before the Civil War, and is to be under the direction of three members, composed of Professors Ulrich B. Phillips, Roy F. Nichols, and A. C. Cole, of which the first named is chairman.

The report called attention to the Revolving Fund, and expressed the feeling of disappointment on the part of the committee of administration and of its chairman, Professor Cheyney, that so few works of mature scholarship had been submitted. The secretary reminded the members that the fund is not intended for the publication of theses for the doctorate.

Remarkable progress in advancing the publication of the annual reports was also noted. Everything but the *Writings on American History* for 1928 is now in type. To expedite action in regard to the *Annual Report* for 1929, the Council has recommended that this report contain merely the proceedings, and reports of committees, along with the Calhoun Papers collected by Robert P. Brooks, supplementing the collection edited in 1899 by Dr. Jameson. A list will be given of papers read before the Association and later published. It may be added in this connection that the *Guide to Historical Literature* has reached the page-proof stage.

The secretary also presented the argument for the establishment of a permanent secretariat, holding that such an officer could maintain more continuous contact with committees and give more consideration to the development of the Association's increasing activities than could a secretary with primary obligations as a member of a college faculty. He quoted the late Professor Bassett as of the same opinion. For these reasons he proposed a resolution which was adopted.

The secretary devoted the latter part of his report to the admirable work now being accomplished by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, bodies in which the Association has a special interest as a coöperating member.

He called attention to the fact that they had apportioned historical research of a predominantly economic and political character as the province of the Social Science Research Council, and intellectual and cultural history to the American Council of Learned Societies. To promote these studies each council has announced the most liberal plans of grants-in-aid. Mention was also made of the important projects of publication which these councils are undertaking, of the notable progress made by the Department of State in editing diplomatic records, and of the work of the Library of Congress in the collection of photostats of materials in foreign archives illustrating the diplomatic history of the United States. The secretary's closing remarks were upon the "state of history in the nation".

The following awards of prizes were also announced: the John H. Dunning prize, to Hayward J. Pearce, jr., of Brenau College, for a monograph on *Benjamin H. Hill: Secession and Reconstruction*; the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, to H. S. Commager, of New York University, for an essay on "Struensee and the Reform Movement in Denmark"; the George Louis Beer prize for 1928, to Sidney B. Fay, of Harvard University, for two volumes on *Origins of the World War*; the George Louis Beer prize for 1929, to M. B. Giffen, of Tarkio College, for an essay on "Fashoda, the Incident, and the Diplomatic Setting".

The Association then proceeded to the election of officers. The president is Evarts B. Greene, the first vice-president, E. D. Adams, the second vice-president, Carl Becker, the secretary, Dexter Perkins, the treasurer, Charles Moore, the two new members of the Executive Council, Dixon R. Fox and Ulrich B. Phillips. The term of Francis A. Christie as a member of the Board of Editors of this journal having expired, and the Managing Editor being considered an *ex officio* member, the Council appointed two new members, Tenney Frank and James Westfall Thompson. The full list of officers and committees is appended, together with selections from the minutes of the Council and from the treasurer's report.

H. E. B.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

November 29 and 30, 1929

It was decided that a vote of thanks be extended to the Carnegie Institution for the use of its quarters during the period July 1, 1928, to November 1, 1929, and that the secretary be requested to write to the appropriate authorities accordingly.

It was voted that the name of the Committee on History and other Social Studies in the Schools should be changed to the Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools.

It was voted to authorize the creation of a Committee on More Permanent Quarters.

It was voted to constitute a Committee on Historical Inscriptions and Monuments to be composed of not more than nine members and whose function should be to give advice as to the accuracy and appropriateness of proposed inscriptions and monuments.

It was voted to adopt a project for the publication of source materials illustrating the early legal history of the United States. Professor Greene was appointed to determine the scope of this investigation with power to appoint others.

It was voted that an appropriate portion of the Beveridge Fund should be devoted to the preparation of one or more volumes on materials illustrative of the state of public opinion in the United States before the Civil War, and that the preparation and supervision of this work should be entrusted to a committee of three composed of Professors Ulrich B. Phillips, chairman, A. C. Cole, and R. F. Nichols. It was voted that in the temporary absence of Professor Phillips, Professor Nichols should act as chairman, and that the proportion of the income of the Beveridge Fund to be devoted to this work should be determined by the committee just named. It was also voted that the first vice-president should communicate these plans to Mrs. Beveridge and should have authority to make suitable arrangements as to personnel.

It was voted, in accordance with the recommendation of the Ad Interim Committee, that the Committee on Endowment as at present formed be dissolved and that a new committee, not to exceed six members, be appointed to consider the situation in regard to the endowment of the Association and the steps which it would be desirable to take in the future for the increase thereof.

December 29, 30, 31, 1929

The secretary of the Association presented to the Council invitations from Harvard University and Radcliffe College to hold the annual meeting of the Association in 1930 in Cambridge. It was voted to accept these invitations and to extend thanks to the institutions proferring them.

It was voted that this meeting be held in Boston and Cambridge on December 29, 30, 31, 1930.

It was voted to elect Mr. L. J. Ragatz as editor of the annual reports of the Association, the appointment to date from April 1, 1930.

It was voted to adopt the following resolution presented by Payson J. Treat. "The Council recommends to the Association the passage of the following resolution. The American Historical Association expresses its great satisfaction at the measures which have been taken by the Public Buildings Commission and the Congress to provide a suitable repository for the archives of the United States. With a deep appreciation of the desirability and necessity of careful study in the planning of such a national archives building and in the administration of its priceless contents, the Association authorizes and instructs its Executive Council to designate a suitable committee to wait upon the President of the United States to assure him of the interest of the Association and to invite his consideration of the appointment of a special committee to consider the questions involved in the preservation and administration of the national archives."

It was voted to adopt a resolution, presented by the chairman of the Committee on Documentary Publications of the United States, memorializing the members of the proper committees in the Congress of the United States with regard to the preparation of a bicentennial edition of the writings of George Washington. This resolution called attention to the fact that the "existing editions of the Writings of Washington, one of them published ninety years ago, the other more than forty, are long since out of print". It also declared that "If we as a nation are to mark our celebration by any appreciation of our foremost character, to whom more than to any other we owe the gaining of our independence and the establishing of our national security, that purpose can never be so effectually served by any material construction as by laying before all readers those writings which exhibit the man himself, his wise and prudent directions in warfare, his lofty and sagacious counsels as President in time of peace."

ITEMS FROM THE TREASURER'S REPORT[1]

Receipts and expenditures, balanced at	$177,237.65
Receipts, chief items:	
Annual dues	16,560.04
Endowment Fund, contributions and Life memberships	34,569.66
Interest on invested funds, including	
Albert J. Beveridge Fund ($3,520.83)	
Littleton-Griswold Fund ($1,354.17)	12,433.97
Special Funds administered by the American Historical Association:	
Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund (Royalties $388.40)	5,388.40
Grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York for Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools	55,000.00
Grant from Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for the International Committee of Historical Sciences	8,000.00
Cash on hand, November 2, 1928	44,611.52
Disbursements, chief items:	
Secretary and Treasurer	$ 6,898.32
Pacific Coast Branch	500.00
Committees of management (Nominations, Membership, Programme, Executive Council, Endowment, etc.)	5,821.07
Historical activities (Committees, Commissions, Conferences, Revolving Fund, etc.)	11,766.26
Commission on the Social Studies	20,943.16
International Committee of Historical Sciences	9,000.00
American Council of Learned Societies, for "Study of Linguistic Origins", from balance of Grant from John D. Rockefeller, Jr.	1,066.50
Justin Winsor Prize	200.00
American Historical Review (Copies to Members)	9,217.81
(Fund, Editorial expenses)	4,439.77
Endowment Fund Investments	55,600.00
Transferred to Savings Account	50,000.00

[1] The complete report was audited by F. W. Lafrentz and Co., Certified Public Accountants, and found correct, under date of December 13, 1929.

Budget for 1930

(As submitted by the Council, November 29, 1929)

Estimated Receipts

Annual dues	$15,000.00
Interest on Endowment and on bank balances	13,000.00
Royalties	50.00
Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund	1,000.00
Publications	50.00
Registration fees	200.00
Government appropriation for printing Annual Report	7,000.00
	$36,300.00

Disbursements

Office of Secretary and Treasurer	$ 7,000.00
Pacific Coast Branch	500.00
Committees of Management:	
Committee on Nominations	100.00
Committee on Membership	75.00
Committee on Programme	700.00
Committee on Local Arrangements	150.00
Executive Council	700.00
Committee on Endowment Fund	.....
Treasurer's Contingent Fund	200.00
Historical Activities:	
Committee on Bibliography	500.00
Committee on Bibliography of Modern British History	500.00
Committee on Publications	700.00
Printing Annual Report	7,000.00
Conference of Historical Societies	25.00
Public Archives Commission	100.00
Writings on American History	700.00
American Council of Learned Societies	75.00
Committee on Historical Research in Colleges	50.00
Committee on History	.....
International Committee of Historical Sciences	225.00
Committee on Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund	.....
Committee on Bibliography of Travel	500.00
International Year Book of Historical Bibliography	200.00
Prizes:	
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, 1929	200.00
George Louis Beer Prize, 1929	250.00
American Historical Review (copies supplied to members)	9,300.00
American Historical Review Fund:	
(Salaries of Managing Editor and Assistant Editor)	5,540.00
	$35,290.00

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, Evarts B. Greene, Columbia University, New York.

First Vice-President, Ephraim Douglass Adams, Stanford University, Cal.

Second Vice-President, Carl Becker, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Secretary, Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.

Treasurer, Charles Moore, 40 B Street, S.W., Washington, D. C.[2]

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 40 B Street, S.W., Washington, D. C.

Executive Council (*ex-officio,* the president, vice-presidents, secretary, and treasurer):

John Bach McMaster[3]
J. Franklin Jameson
Albert Bushnell Hart
Frederick J. Turner
Andrew C. McLaughlin
George L. Burr
Worthington C. Ford
Edward Channing
Jean Jules Jusserand
Charles H. Haskins
Edward P. Cheyney
Charles M. Andrews
Dana C. Munro
Henry Osborn Taylor
James H. Breasted
James Harvey Robinson[3]
Payson J. Treat
William L. Clements
Samuel E. Morison
Winfred T. Root
Elizabeth Donnan
Joseph G. deRoulhac Hamilton
Dixon R. Fox
Ulrich B. Phillips

OFFICERS OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH: *President,* Frank W. Pitman, Pomona College; *Vice-President,* Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon; *Secretary-Treasurer,* Carl F. Brand, Stanford University; *Executive Committee:* (the above) and Osgood Hardy, H. A. Hubbard, Edward S. McMahon, F. C. Palm.

COMMITTEES:

Committee on Programme for the Forty-fifth Annual Meeting: Ralph H. Gabriel, 127 Everit Street, New Haven, Conn., chairman; William K. Boyd, Godfrey Davies, Albert Hyma, James P. Baxter, 3d, Edgar E. Robinson, Reginald G. Trotter, William L. Westermann, Laura A. White; and (*ex officio*) Dexter Perkins, Christopher B. Coleman, O. C. Stine.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Francis R. Hart, 17 Court Street, Boston, Mass., chairman; James P Baxter, 3d, Charles F. D. Belden, Charles K. Bolton, W. C. Endicott, William S. Ferguson, William L. Langer, Samuel E. Morison, Francis Parkman, Edward M. Pickman, Mrs. Barrett Wendell.

Committee on Nominations: E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., chairman; Louise Phelps Kellogg, James F. Willard, Frederick Merk, Chester P. Higby.

Editors of the American Historical Review: J. Franklin Jameson, chairman, 40 B Street, S.W., Washington, D. C., Henry E. Bourne (*ex officio* as Managing Editor), A. C. Cole, V. W. Crane, Sidney B. Fay, James W. Thompson, Tenney Frank.

[2] For purposes of routine business the secretary and the treasurer may be addressed at 40 B Street, S.W., Washington, D. C.

[3] The names from that of Mr. McMaster to that of Mr. Robinson are those of ex-presidents.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Theodore C. Pease, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., chairman; Randolph G. Adams, Elizabeth Donnan, J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, Reginald C. McGrane, Newton D. Mereness, John C. Parish, Wayne E. Stevens.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Thomas M. Marshall, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., chairman; Kathleen Bruce, Allan Nevins, William S. Robertson, Wayne E. Stevens.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Louis R. Gottschalk, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., chairman; Eugene N. Curtis, Paul B. Jones, Preserved Smith, Judith Williams.

Public Archives Commission: Charles W. Ramsdell, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, chairman; J. B. Hedges, Thomas M. Marshall, Margaret C. Norton, James G. Randall.

Committee on Bibliography: Henry R. Shipman, 27 Mercer Street, Princeton, N. J., chairman; William H. Allison, Solon J. Buck, Sidney B. Fay, Grace G. Griffin, Augustus H. Shearer.

Committee on Bibliography of Modern British History: Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, chairman; Arthur Lyon Cross, Godfrey Davies, Roger B. Merriman, Wallace Notestein, Conyers Read, Caroline F. Ware.

Committee on Publications: Leo F. Stock, 3737 Michigan Avenue, N.E., Washington, D. C., chairman.

Committee on Membership: George G. Andrews, University of Iowa, Iowa City, chairman; Julian P. Bretz, Philip P. Chase, E. Merton Coulter, Alexander J. Wall, Waldemar Westergaard.

Conference of Historical Societies: Dixon Ryan Fox, Columbia University, New York City, chairman; Christopher B. Coleman, secretary.

Committee on the National Archives: Charles Moore, 40 B Street, S.W., Washington, D. C., chairman; Tyler Dennett, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Eben Putnam, W. F. Willoughby.

Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools: August C. Krey, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., chairman; F. W. Ballou, Charles A. Beard, Isaiah Bowman, Ada L. Comstock, George S. Counts, A. O. Craven, Edmund E. Day, Guy Stanton Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Ernest Horn, Henry Johnson, Leon C. Marshall, Charles E. Merriam, Jesse H. Newlon, Jesse F. Steiner.

Committee on Endowment: Christopher B. Coleman, 334 State House, Indianapolis, Ind., chairman; James P. Baxter, 3d, Solon J. Buck, Harry J. Carman, Conyers Read, Charles Moore.

Delegates in the American Council of Learned Societies: J. Franklin Jameson, Edward P. Cheyney.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize: John M. S. Allison, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn., chairman; Charles E. Fryer, Parker T. Moon, Thad W. Riker, Preston W. Slosson.

Committee on Historical Research in Colleges: Fred A. Shannon, 1526 Humboldt Street, Manhattan, Kans., chairman; Troyer S. Anderson, Clarence E. Carter, C. C. Pearson, Bertha H. Putnam, Alfred H. Sweet.

Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government: Samuel F. Bemis, George Washington University, Washington, D. C., chairman; William K. Boyd, J. Franklin Jameson, H. Barrett Learned, John Bach McMaster,

Dumas Malone, Charles Moore, Joseph Schafer, Arthur M. Schlesinger, St. George L. Sioussat, Mark Sullivan, Charles Warren.

Representative in the International Committee of Historical Sciences: Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C.

Committee on the Jusserand Medal: Carl Becker, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., chairman; C. Crane Brinton, Merle E. Curti.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize: Ulrich B. Phillips, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., chairman; Avery O. Craven, J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton.

Delegates in the Social Science Research Council: Guy Stanton Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Arthur M. Schlesinger.

Representatives in the Committee for the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences: Carlton J. H. Hayes, Carl Becker, C. H. Haring.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications: Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, chairman; Violet Barbour, Evarts B. Greene, Marcus W. Jernegan, Waldo G. Leland.

Committee on the Bibliography of Travel: Solon J. Buck, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

Committee on International Coöperation: Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C., chairman; Frederick B. Artz, Eloise Ellery, Carl R. Fish, J. Franklin Jameson, Herbert I. Priestley, Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

Committee on Permanent Quarters: Henry E. Bourne, 40 B Street, S.W., Washington, D. C., chairman; Fairfax Harrison, H. Barrett Learned, Charles Moore, Dexter Perkins.

International Subcommittee on Chronology: Appointment to be announced.

Committee on Historical Inscriptions: Christopher B. Coleman, 334 State House, Indianapolis, Ind., chairman; R. D. W. Connor, Dixon R. Fox, Edmond S. Meany, Charles Moore, Samuel E. Morison, Joseph Schafer.

PIERRE DUBOIS: MODERN OR MEDIEVAL?

THE reputation of the Middle Ages has suffered much from the schoolmen at their worst and the consequent sneers of the classicists of the Renaissance. Even today, when a medieval writer of sound practical ideas is brought to light men marvel at the appearance of "modern" thought in an age presumed to be devoted to theology and arid rhetorical exercises. Too often do we forget to think of the Middle Ages as confronting problems similar to our own and considering solutions similar in spirit to those suggested by our difficulties, however much the problems and their proposed solution may differ in detail from those of the present. The old conception of the Middle Ages is rapidly being dissipated; nevertheless one may still all too frequently find the term "modern" used to describe bold and striking ideas found in the writings of medieval authors. The attitude expressed by many scholars toward the writings of Pierre Dubois is an illustration of this tendency.

An obscure fourteenth century legist, he was the author of a number of pamphlets and tracts supporting the royal side of certain controversies in which King Philip the Fair of France was involved. He wrote for the most part anonymously, giving his name to only one of the eight or nine productions from his pen which have been preserved to us. The little we know of his life must be gleaned from incidental remarks in his writings, and a few scattered references in official records. Born in Normandy between 1250 and 1260, he attended the University of Paris, where he listened to the lectures of Siger de Brabant and Thomas Aquinas. At Coutances he followed his profession of advocate, representing the Crown in ecclesiastical cases. In the first Estates General he represented the town of Coutances. His death probably occurred soon after 1321.[1]

For two centuries Dubois was known only as the author of a single pamphlet, edited by Dupuy in 1655.[2] In 1847 M. Natalis de

[1] The best biographical sketches of Dubois are those by Renan in volume XXVI. of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, and by C. V. Langlois in the introduction to his edition of the *De recuperatione* (Paris, 1891). The most extensive bilbiography on Dubois is in Ernst Zeck, *Der Publizist Pierre Dubois, Seine Bedeutung im Rahmen der Politik Philipps IV. des Schönen und Seine Literarische Denk- und Arbeitsweise im Traktat 'De recuperatione Terre Sancte'*. (Berlin, 1911), pp. xi–xvi.

[2] The *Deliberatio super agendis a Philippo IV., Francorum Rege, contra Epistolam Bonifacii Papae VIII. inter cetera continentem haec verba: Scire te*

Wailly succeeded in identifying him as the author of five anonymous pamphlets called forth by the struggle between Philip and Boniface VIII.[3] Some years later M. Boutaric demonstrated that he was also the author of another anonymous treatise, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte*.[4] This had long since been edited by Bongars,[5] who ascribed it to an *Auctor anonymus, patronus Regius causarum ecclesiasticarum in ducatu Aquitaniae*. With Boutaric's identification the rehabilitation of Dubois was complete.

His personality and ideas have attracted the attention of a long list of scholars, among whom are Ernest Renan, Delaville le Roulx, C. V. Langlois, J. N. Figgis, Richard Scholz, Ernst Zeck, F. M. Powicke, Eileen Power, and Bede Jarrett.[6] The first two, fascinated by their subject, fell into the error of crediting him with more importance and influence than he actually possessed. Renan looked upon him as Philip's right hand man in the struggle with Boniface, and assumed that he took a prominent part in initiating the policy which resulted in the dissolution of the Order of Knights Templar.[7]

volumus. This appeared in Dupuy's *Histoire du Différend d'entre le Pape Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1655), *Preuves*, pp. 44–47. This is the only extant work to which Dubois attached his full name.

[3] His paper was read before the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in Feb., 1847, and printed in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, III. (1846), 273–315, under the title, *Mémoire sur un Opuscule Anonyme Intitulé: Summaria brevis et compendiosa Doctrina felicis Expeditionis et Abreviationis Guerrarum ac Litum Regni Francorum*.

[4] *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres Bibliothèques*, XX., pt. 2 (Paris, 1862), p. 174; *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, VIII. (1864), 84–106.

[5] In his *Gesta Dei per Francos* (2 vols., Hanover, 1611), II. 316–361.

[6] Renan, "Pierre Dubois, Légiste", *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 471–536. Re printed in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, XCI. (1871), 620–646; XCII. (1871), 87–115 under the title, "Un Publiciste du Temps de Philippe le Bel, 1300–1308"; also in the same author's *Études sur la Politique Religieuse du Règne de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1899), pp. 253–381. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV^e Siècle* (2 vols., Paris, 1886), I. 48–54. C. V. Langlois, see note 1; also in *Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution*, ed. E. Lavisse (Paris, 1900–1912), III., pt. 2, 284 ff.; also "Un Mémoire Inédit de Pierre Du Bois, 1313, De Torneamentis et Justis", *Revue Historique*, XLI. (1889), 84–91. J. N. Figgis, "A Forgotten Radical", *Cambridge Review*, XXI. (1900), 373 f. Richard Scholz, *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen und Bonifaz' VIII.* (Stuttgart, 1903), pp. 375–443. Ernst Zeck, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte: Ein Traktat des Pierre Dubois (Petrus de Bosco)* (2 pts., Berlin, 1905–1906); *Der Publizist Pierre Dubois, supra*, n. 1. F. M. Powicke, "Pierre Dubois: A Mediaeval Radical", in *Historical Essays*, ed. T. F. Tout and James Tait (Manchester, 1907), pp. 169–191. Powicke's essay was originally published in 1902. Eileen Power, "Pierre Du Bois and the Domination of France", in *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediaeval Thinkers*, ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw (New York, 1923), pp. 139–166. Bede Jarrett, *Social Theories of the Middle Ages, 1200–1500* (London, 1926), pp. 92 f. and elswhere.

[7] *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 473 ff., 482, 484, 486.

More extreme was the view of Delaville le Roulx, who held that Philip's policies were inspired by Dubois and that he exerted great influence upon his contemporaries and upon the king. This over-enthusiastic view was corrected by C. V. Langlois, who in 1891 demonstrated beyond all reasonable doubt that Dubois was a mere voluntary pamphleteer. One who enjoyed the royal confidence would scarcely have repeatedly offered his services to the Crown through the medium of pamphlets. There is no evidence that Philip ever made use of the services offered. Nor would one of the royal advisers have repeated in a confidential document the popular erroneous opinion of Philip's negotiations with the Emperor Albert of Austria. And yet even Langlois refers to him as the "conseiller de Philippe le Bel".[8]

The question of his originality is not quite so easily disposed of. Was Dubois a genius, "a modern man in the Middle Ages", one who was centuries ahead of his contemporaries? Renan speaks of his "idées originales, pénétrantes, hardies, sortant si complètement de la routine du temps". J. N. Figgis pictures him as being far in advance of his age: "Dubois in his wealth of audacity, in the daring and wide-reaching nature of his schemes, in the ability with which they are commended, in the ingenuity with which the greatness of France and her monarch is made the pivot of ecclesiastical reform and the Christianization of the world, would seem rather similar to revolutionary idealists, such as Robespierre or Lassalle than the purblind and parchment-bound legist of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as we have been taught to imagine him." German scholars have on the whole been more critical. In 1903 Richard Scholz published his study of pamphleteering in the age of Philip the Fair, in which he pointed out that several of the suggestions made by Dubois were to be found in the writings of his predecessors and contemporaries. Eight years later Ernst Zeck published the most thorough study of Dubois that has yet appeared. The researches of these two scholars have shown that earlier writers were at fault in considering the ideas of Dubois original and unique. Their monographs seem to have escaped the notice of Miss Power, who in her essay published in 1923 could write, "The most daring and original

[8] *De recuperatione*, ed. Langlois, 96, 100, 116, Introduction, pp. vi, xv–xvii; *De abreviatione*, fols. 3, 33. All references in this article to the *De recuperatione* are to the edition of Langlois and follow the paragraph numbering adopted by him. In the *De abreviatione*, fol. 3, Dubois refers to the interview between Albert of Austria and Philip at Vaucouleurs in December, 1299, under the impression that Philip had on that occasion secured for his family the succession to the Empire. Six years later, in that part of the *De recuperatione* intended for Philip's eyes only, he refers once more to this supposed diplomatic victory.

of them all, he is so modern that he seems to be writing for a Louis XIV. or a Napoleon . . .". Throughout her otherwise excellent essay the "modern" aspect of Dubois is constantly emphasized. Even Father Jarrett, writing of the *De recuperatione*, can state that "Its ideas seem to have sprung out of a man's brain and to have died with him, to have been the single effort of an independent thinker without literary affinities or descendants".

Heretofore no study has been made of Dubois with a view to determining to what extent his principal ideas were unique and how far they appear in the writings of his contemporaries and predecessors. For this reason I have thought it worth while to present a summary of his most striking views and point out how very few of them can be regarded as new or original.[9]

Most of his important suggestions are embodied in the *De recuperatione*, his chief work, under the guise of a practical plan for a crusade. He held that a necessary preliminary measure was the establishment of permanent peace among all Christian princes. He would abolish all war except "a war to end war". Ever practical, he did not envisage a world free from disputes, but suggested a means for the peaceable settlement of international controversies. Pope and council loomed large in his plan. The council, summoned by the pope, should choose a board of arbitration, which in its turn should select as judges three prelates to whom should be added three representatives from each party to the controversy. This group of nine was to hear witnesses and examine the pleas and documents submitted by either party. All testimony was to be reduced to writing and a permanent record of the proceedings deposited with the pope. The judges should be guided by divine, canon, and civil law. An appeal from their decision might be carried to the pope, who was empowered to alter or confirm the award.[10] One may search in vain through the writings of contemporaries for such a definite proposal for a court of international arbitration. And yet the principle of arbitration was not unknown.[11] Boniface VIII. had on several

[9] No attempt will be made here to discuss his more conventional ideas which were admittedly those of his age. He had, for example, a vivid belief in the existence of demons and a lively apprehension of their power and influence. *Cf. De recup.*, 2, 97, 106; *De abrev.*, fol. 27v, 28. In his opinion the actions of men are swayed, although not absolutely determined, by the stars. *De recup.*, 2; *De abrev.*, fol. 6v, 11v. Carefully orthodox, he did not question papal supremacy over the Christian church even when proposing measures which would put an end to the pope's temporal power.

[10] *De recup.*, 2, 12. Dubois failed to specify whether the court should decide questions unanimously or by majority vote

[11] Arbitration of one sort or another was occasionally suggested and resorted to during the Middle Ages. To cite a few instances: In the year 1000 the Synod

occasions acted as arbitrator to settle international difficulties. Edward I. and Philip IV., weary and exhausted from their war over Flanders, had voluntarily invoked the aid of Boniface as arbitrator, being careful to appeal to him as a private person, Benedetto Gaetani. The treaty of 1303 between Philip and Edward was the result. Boniface later intervened in behalf of the Scots in their contest with Edward. Again, it was Boniface who confirmed the treaty between Charles of Valois and Robert, Duke of Calabria, on the one hand, and Frederick I. of Sicily on the other. On this occasion Boniface appears to have exercised the right to insist on modifications of the treaty before approving it.[12]

Dubois planned to abolish ordinary feudal warfare by having the council enact the requirement that all prelates and nobles of every rank take an oath to abstain from war and thus in effect form a league to enforce peace. If any one should in spite of his oath make war upon his neighbors, the members of this universal league should be bound by their oath to unite in suppressing the aggressor by an

of Poitiers formally adopted the rule that disputes over property should be settled by law, not by force. J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, XIX. 241, 266 ff., quoted in C. J. von Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte* (2d ed. 6 vols., Freiburg-i.-Breisgau), IV. 655. In 1023 King Robert the Pious of France held a conference at Mouzon with Henry II. of Germany, at which the two monarchs discussed the possibility of a peace pact to include France, Germany, and all Christendom. *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* (ed. Bethmann), III. 37, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, VII. 480. One of the first acts of Innocent III. after his elevation to the pontificate was to urge Philip Augustus and Richard I. to cease hostilities toward one another on pain of suffering an interdict. Within a short time the two monarchs agreed to a truce of five years. A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, 1198–1304* (2 vols., Berlin, 1874–1875), I., nos. 235, 645; T. Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, et cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica inter Reges Angliae et Alios*, ed. Clarke and Holbrooke (4 vols. in 7, London, 1816–1869), I., pt. 1, 69, 72 f. When there was danger that the treaty between the kings of Portugal and Castile might be broken, Innocent directed his representative, Rainer, to warn the two monarchs to observe their treaty. In case of necessity Rainer was empowered to pronounce sentence of excommunication and interdict. Innocent III., *Epistolae*, I. 249, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CCXIV. 214; Potthast, *Regesta*, I., no. 263. In case of a disputed imperial election Innocent claimed that the princes must request the pope to act as arbiter. If they failed within a reasonable time to make this request he must of his own accord as head of the Church decide in favor of one of the claimants. *Patr. Lat.*, CCXVI. 1065 ff.; Potthast, I., no. 1653.

[12] Rymer, *Foedera*, I., pt. 2, 887, 896; Potthast, II., nos. 24706, 24711–24715. Although Edward and Philip had appealed to him as a private person, Boniface announced the award in full synod at Rome in the presence of the papal court. In the affair of the Scots Boniface interfered on the ground that Scotland was a fief of the Roman church, declaring that if Edward claimed any legal rights in Scotland he should within six months send accredited representatives to confer with the pope. Rymer, *Foedera*, I., pt. 2, 907 f.; Potthast, II., nos. 24848, 25195, 25245, 25265.

economic boycott as well as by force of arms. After his inevitable defeat the guilty person and his supporters were to suffer confiscation of their lands and be exiled to the Holy Land to fight the infidel. Similar attempts to end feudal warfare had been made in the past. Dubois's proposal bears a strong resemblance to the "Peace of God" which church councils and synods attempted to establish in the eleventh century. The earlier proposals included the oath taking feature and provision for united effort against aggressors. Even the exile of criminals to Palestine had been suggested in the eleventh century.[13]

In dealing with the Empire Dubois displayed a chauvinism worthy of the twentieth century.[14] Since disputed elections were a prolific source of war he proposed that the Empire be granted to some powerful monarch as a hereditary possession. No better candidate for the position occurred to him than the king of France or some prince of the French royal family. His plan did not involve a war of aggression. The pope should simply suspend the electoral function of the imperial magnates and the king could then easily gain control of the Empire. If they protested, the lay electors could be silenced by adequate bribes and the ecclesiastical electors would necessarily bow before papal authority. As emperor Philip could then

[13] *De recup.*, 3–5; *De abrev.*, fol. 4, 5v. During the early part of the eleventh century a state of virtual anarchy prevailed in Burgundy. About 1023 the bishops of that duchy pledged themselves and their diocesans by oath to observe peace and justice in their dealings. Bishops of northern France joined the agreement. Hefele, *op. cit.*, IV. 689 f. The synod of Bourges in 1038 required every Christian of the age of fifteen or older to take an oath to withstand anyone who violated the peace. Even clergymen were not exempt, but were required to lead their people in battle against the war makers. A. Kluckhohn, *Geschichte des Gottenfriedens* (Leipzig, 1857), p. 35, note 10; Hefele, IV. 698. The exile of criminals to Palestine was suggested in a letter signed by certain clergy of Provence and directed to the clergy of Italy. It refers to what was apparently the act of some Provençal synod and asks the Italian clergy to join them in the Truce of God. Violators of the truce shall be excommunicated for eternity. Whoever on the days of the Truce of God commits a murder shall be exiled to Jerusalem. The letter is given in Mansi, XIX. 593 ff.; Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 1. An abridged version in German is to be found in Hefele, IV. 699 f.

[14] There is an appeal to French dynastic and national pride in his portrayal of the advantages to be gained by following his suggestions. The power and influence of the French king will be increased, and his sons and brothers provided with kingdoms. *De recup.*, 115, 116; *De abrev.*, fol. 7r. No longer will the Italians enjoy a monopoly of papal patronage and the fattest benefices. Even the papacy may possibly become French. *De recup.*, 111. If Philip the Fair only realized the great military strength of his kingdom he would hesitate at nothing. *De abrev.*, fol. 9. Men born and brought up in the neighborhood of Paris have a superior natural endowment due to the favorable influence of the stars. *De recup.*, 139. The French are by ability and temperament fitted to dominate the world. *De abrev.*, fol. 6v.

control the Italian cities, which still nominally belonged to the Empire. By reason of his legal and actual authority, aided by the European peace system, he could put a stop to their incessant quarrels which had so often hampered crusading expeditions. In his blatant patriotism Dubois had been anticipated by Jordanus of Osnabrück, who held that the Germans had received from God the gift of universal dominion, the Italians the gift of the papacy, while the French must rest content with their superiority in learning and must not be permitted to lay hands on the Empire.[15] A similarly exaggerated national pride appears even in the official documents of the French chancellery. French princes aspired to imperial honors both in the East and the West.[16] Expansion of French influence by maintaining Capetian interests in Italy, Spain, and Hungary was so natural that the idea was common property. As for the electors, their susceptibility to bribery was notorious.

In advocating ecclesiastical reforms Dubois was on familiar ground. He repeated the time-honored charges of worldliness, simony, avarice, and immorality, all of which—and more—can be found in the writings of churchmen of unimpeachable respectability and orthodoxy. He even accused the papacy of being a fomenter of wars for worldly advantage, and specifically charged Boniface with heresy. And what remedy did he propose? Nothing less than a return to apostolic poverty through the confiscation of all church lands. Such property, he suggested, should be transferred to the French king in return for a perpetual annual subsidy for the clergy. With the skill of a trained dialectician he argued that the revenues of churchmen would actually be increased by this measure. Moreover, the pope, freed from the necessity of administering the patrimony, might take up his residence in his native France, where he would create so many French cardinals that the perfidious Romans would forever be deprived of the papacy.[17] Proposals for confiscation of

[15] *De recup.*, 13, 116; *De abrev.*, fol. 8, 10v; *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. E. Boutaric as doc. no. XXX. of his "Documents inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de France sous Philippe le Bel", in *Notices et Extraits*, XX., pt. 2, 186–189. Jordanus of Osnabrück, *De praerogativa Romani Imperii*, written *ca.* 1280. See the article on Jordanus by G. Waitz in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XIV. 501.

[16] C. V. Langlois, in *Histoire de France*, III., pt. 2, 290, 315. W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 442 f. H. Moranville, "Les Projets de Charles de Valois sur l'Empire de Constantinople", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LI. (1890), 64.

[17] *De recup.*, 29–31, 33, 34, 40, 45, 111, 112; *De abrev.*, fol. 7r; *Deliberatio super agendis*, in Dupuy, *Différend*, pp. 45 f.; *De facto Templariorum*, French text in *Notices et Extraits*, XX., pt. 2, doc. no. XXVII.; Scholz, *op. cit.*, pp. 386, 390. The possibility of papal heresy had been previously recognized. It was discussed by John of Paris in chapters 14, 23, and 24 of his *Tractatus de potestate regia et*

ecclesiastical property date back at least to the days of Paschal II., who formally proposed to Henry V. that the clergy should relinquish all governmental powers and privileges which they owed to secular monarchs. This would have involved the surrender of all property not actually comprised in the "offerings and hereditary possessions" of the churches.[18] In 1273 Philip III. proposed to Gregory X. that the patrimony be administered by some strong monarch. Gregory replied that he himself would welcome such an arrangement, and that the French monarch would no doubt fill such a position satisfactorily.[19] When Dubois wrote the *De recuperatione* Clement V. had already taken up his residence in France, where he remained to the end of his days. One month after his elevation he created ten cardinals, nine of whom were Frenchmen, thus placing the Italians in the minority. Dubois proposed the suppression of non-conventual priories and the limitation of monastic communities for women. At the Council of Lyons in 1274 the general of the Dominican Order had presented proposals including the abolition of priories and the regeneration of the monastic orders.[20] When Dubois proposed the abolition of clerical celibacy he was merely suggesting the adoption of the long standing custom in the Greek church, which was in his day receiving some attention because of the renewed agitation for the reunion of the two churches. Arnold of Villanova, physician to Boniface VIII., made a sharp attack on clerical celibacy shortly before Dubois wrote.[21]

He was not alone in his attack on the Templars.[22] When the news of the fall of Acre reached Europe there were many who blamed the disaster to dissensions in the ranks of the military orders. The proposal to consolidate the military orders had been made by

papali, published *ca.* 1303. R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* (New York, 1903–1928), V. 428, 434, 436, notes. Even canon law admitted the possibility of papal heresy. *Cf.* the *Decretum* of Gratian, Dist. XL. c. vi (Friedberg's edition).

[18] *M. G. H., Leges* (Hanover, 1837), II. 68 f.

[19] *Documents Historiques Inédits*, ed. Champollion-Figeac *et al.* (Paris, 1841), I. 653 f.

[20] *De recup.*, 30, 31, 54–57, 102; *De abrev.*, fol. 29v; Scholz, *op. cit.*, pp. 402, 405.

[21] The passage is edited by G. Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII.* (Münster, 1902), p. clxxiii. *Ca.* 1300 a clerk was writing the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*, a widely read work which preached full "emancipation of the flesh". Scholz, *op. cit.*, p. 407. William Duranti proposed that the Council of Vienne consider seriously the possibility of abolishing clerical celibacy and the adoption of the Greek practice. *Ibid.*, p. 406.

[22] See especially the two pamphlets of 1308, edited by Boutaric in *Notices et Extraits*, XX., pt. 2, docs. nos. XXVII. and XXVIII.; also *De recup.*, 14, 15, and App., 3–5.

several, notably Gregory X., Nicholas IV., and Raymond Lull.[23] It was just at this time that Philip IV. was beginning to lay plans for confiscating the Templars' property. Not until after the king had taken the initiative did Dubois come out flatly for the dissolution of the Order.[24]

The problem of financing a crusade had always been difficult. Dubois planned to use for this purpose the income from confiscated ecclesiastical property. This would be supplemented by the gifts of the faithful and a heavy inheritance tax on the estates of deceased clergy. Some years earlier Edward I. of England had exacted contributions from the clergy in defiance of the bull *Clericis laicos* through the expedient of depriving the clergy of their right to be heard in the royal courts.[25]

In Dubois's scheme crusading armies were to be recruited by the usual means, *i.e.*, preaching and the offer of indulgences, but a special effort was to be made to popularize such military service. Recruits should be organized in groups under a leader, arrayed in uniform dress, and provided with a banner designating their place of origin.[26]

[23] Eberhard, Archdeacon of Ratisbon, *Annales, sub ann.* 1291, *M. G. H., Scriptores,* XVII. 594; Scholz, *op. cit.*, p. 405. At the Council of Lyons in 1274 Gregory discussed with Louis IX. and the representatives of the Templars and Hospitallers the project of uniting the two Orders. *Histoire Littéraire,* XXVII. 385. In August, 1291, on hearing the news from Acre, Nicholas IV. directed the patriarchs, archbishops, etc., to hold provincial synods where the matter of the consolidation of the two Orders should be discussed. Potthast, *Regesta,* II., nos. 23781, 23784, 23786, 23787, 23803, etc. He specifically mentioned that the *communis vox* demanded the consolidation. Some of these synods formally recommended that such action be taken, *e.g.*, the synods held at Milan and at Salzburg. Hefele, *op. cit.*, VI. 263; Eberhard, *loc. cit.*, p. 594. Scholz, p. 405, n. 115, cites five separate pamphlets by Lull which discussed this proposal. Jacques de Molay vigorously opposed Lull's suggestions. *Histoire Littéraire,* XXVII. 385.

[24] Dubois first proposed the dissolution of the Order of Knights Templar in the brief memoir which Langlois published as an appendix to his edition of the *De recuperatione.* It can not be dated exactly, but must have been composed after the *De recuperatione,* during the year 1308. Philip seems to have begun his preparations for action against the Templars not later than 1306. Clement V. authorized an investigation of the Order Aug. 24, 1307. Philip's orders to his officials for the arrest of the Templars are dated Sept. 14 of that year. R. Holtzmann, *Wilhelm von Nogaret: Rat und Grosssiegelbewahrer Philipps des Schönen von Frankreich* (Freiburg, 1898), pp. 134, 139, 141.

[25] *De abrev.*, fol. 7; *De recup.*, 14, 15, 40–45, etc. When the convocation of the English clergy separated without making any grant to the king the chief justice pronounced the clergy to be outlaws. The Archbishop of Canterbury retaliated by publishing the sentence of excommunication against violators of the bull *Clericis laicos,* whereupon Edward ordered the sheriffs to take possession of the lay fees held by clerks in the province of Canterbury. T. F. Tout, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry III. to the Death of Edward III.*, p. 201.

[26] *De recup.*, 16, 107, and App. 6.

This was even better than the system adopted by Frederick Barbarossa,[27] who led the best organized of any of the crusading armies. Uniforms were used by the troops of Ypres in the battle of Courtrai.[28] Charles II. of Sicily had even furnished a detailed description of the uniform with which he proposed that crusading armies be equipped.[29]

One reason for the Saracen triumph over the Latin states was the failure of the Christians actually to occupy the country. Dubois proposed to encourage permanent settlement by granting exclusive control over some district in Palestine to every nation or province which furnished troops for the crusade. Here new arrivals, exhausted by the hardships of their journey, could find rest and comfort in a familiar environment. A further advantage, he pointed out, lay in the fact that these European colonies would naturally stimulate trade; Oriental products would then be sold in Europe at a more reasonable price.[30] Others had seen the need for some sort of permanent organization. A Franciscan friar, Fidence of Padua, in 1289 proposed to weaken the Moslem power by destroying the commerce of Egypt. Palestine could then be regained with comparative ease, and would be protected in the future by a permanent army and navy organized for that purpose.[31] Italian cities had from the first been alive to the commercial possibilities, and had laid the foundation for European colonies by bargaining with the crusaders for the exclusive possession of portions of conquered cities.[32] At

[27] F. Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge nach Morgenländischen und Abendländischen Berichten* (7 vols. Leipzig, 1807–1832), IV. 62.

[28] This statement rests on the authority of the *Chronicon comitum Flandrensium*: "Hujus aciei ordinatores fuerunt Guido de Flandriae et Johannes de Renesse, qui ordinaverunt Yprenses omnes indutos tunicis rubeis, ad castri Curtracensis custodiam." *Corpus chronicorum Flandriae*, ed. J.-J. de Smet (4 vols. Brussels, 1837–1865), I. 168. I have read practically every contemporary Flemish and French chronicle in print dealing with the battle, but have found no other description of these "uniforms".

[29] Charles's plan for a crusade in which this description occurs is unedited. It is cited as MS. Bibl. nat., franc. 6049, by Delaville le Roulx, *op. cit.*, I. 19, n. 1.

[30] *De recup.*, 20–22, 63, 67, 84, 105, 107, 108, and App. 6.

[31] The proposals of Fidence of Padua, still unedited, are analyzed in Delaville le Roulx, *op. cit.*, I. 19–24, from the MS. Bibl. nat., Latin 7247, fol. 85–126. Raymond Lull also proposed a commercial war on Egypt. *Ibid.*, I. 31.

[32] These bargains were numerous. Among them can be cited the treaty of Baldwin I. with the Genoese in 1104, by which the latter were to receive one third of each of three conquered cities, as well as a quarter of Jerusalem and Jaffa. W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Raynaud (Leipzig, 1923), I. 138. In 1123 the Venetians made a similar bargain with Baldwin II. whereby they were to receive one third of the city of Tyre and certain concessions in every city belonging to the king or to one of his barons. *Ibid.*, I. 144. It was not at all unusual for subordinates of the great Italian merchants to

least one of the military orders, the Teutonic Knights, owed its origin to the efforts of a pious couple resident in Jerusalem to provide aid and comfort for their countrymen who visited Palestine.[33] The Latin conquest of Constantinople led to the formation of Latin states in the East which existed down to the fifteenth century.[34]

It is not surprising that the practical mind of Dubois revolted against the tedious and involved legal procedure of the thirteenth century. One of his pet projects was the speeding up of litigation. This, he declared, could best be accomplished by requiring plaintiff and defendant to present their pleas in written form. The number of counterpleas permitted must be strictly limited. Arguments of counsel were to be presented in writing instead of orally. Judges should be empowered to rule out all irrelevant or repetitious matter. The period of study required for the mastery of civil and canon law could be reduced by substituting shorter and better systematized collections of laws and abridged versions of the ponderous tomes comprising the civil law. These suggestions were quite in accord with the trend of the times. During the second half of the thirteenth century the influence of Roman and canon law resulted in a modification of legal procedure which minimized publicity, increased the use of written documents, and thereby enhanced the importance of lawyers and notaries. Manuals and abridged textbooks for the use of law students were already in existence. As Langlois puts it, "Le moyen âge n'a que trop goûté les *compendia* de toute espèce".[35]

Dubois held that a knowledge of Oriental languages would be almost indispensable to the inhabitants of the proposed European colonies in Palestine. It would also be of great assistance in furthering Catholic missions among the Saracens and among the schis-

remain in Syria for years, or even to take up permanent residence there. E. H. Byrne, "Genoese Trade with Syria in the Twelfth Century", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV. 191–219.

[33] H. Prutz, *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden: Ihre Stellung zur Kirchlichen, Politischen, Gesellschaftlichen und Wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1908), p. 62.

[34] Centurione Zaccaria, the last known Frankish ruler of the principality of Achaia, died in 1432. J. R. Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea, a Study of Greece in the Middle Ages* (London, 1907), II. 263. The Latin domination of Athens was not brought to an end until 1456. C. Finlay, *History of Greece* (new ed., Oxford, 1877), IV. 164.

[35] *De recup.*, 76 and n, 1, 89–98; *De abrev.*, esp. fol. 33; A. Tardiff, *La Procédure Civile et Criminelle au XIII^e^ et XIV^e^ Siècles ou Procédure de Transition* (Paris, 1885), pp. 1, 72. Tardif cites elsewhere a treatise of Vacarius consisting of a collection of annotated and glossed extracts from the *Code* and the *Digest* prepared for the purpose of sparing impecunious students the purchase of the huge compilations of Justinian, as well as for shortening their studies. A. Tardiff, *Histoires des Sources du Droit Français, Origines Romaines* (Paris, 1890), p. 361.

matic Greeks. He therefore proposed that the pope establish a system of schools in western Europe in which boys and girls might receive adequate training for life in the Orient. The system should comprise elementary schools in every European province, a number of professional schools, and a single normal school at the papal curia. Pupils should be recruited mainly from the ranks of the nobility, care being taken to select those who gave promise of intellectual ability. In the elementary curriculum he laid great stress on languages; first and foremost a thorough knowledge of Latin, then Greek, Arabic and other Oriental languages, including Hebrew. Boys distinguished for their ability should be given training in theology so that at an early age they might serve the European colonies as priests. The girls, too, should receive religious training. The attractive ones might readily find husbands among the infidels and schismatics, and could then bring their consorts to acknowledge the true faith. Training in logic was to be given in the elementary schools. The professional schools should stress the natural sciences, always for their practical value. The same was true of medicine and surgery, even pharmacy not being neglected. Philosophy, theology, and law came next. The most capable girls might benefit from some training in medicine and surgery, since it would enable them to be of assistance to the Saracen women. Grateful for such aid, these women would lend a ready ear to the theological arguments of their nurses.[36]

The course of study as outlined by Dubois was neither new nor original, being practically the same as that which had long since been followed at the University of Paris. The textbooks mentioned were those familiar to his contemporaries, except that he always insisted on abridged versions. In the realm of educational theory he repeatedly stressed the value of practical experience as opposed to mere theoretical knowledge.[37] This was the principal reason for his insistence on shortening the time devoted to formal study. The graduates of his schools were to find positions as secretaries and

[36] *La Supplication du Peuble de France au Roy contre le Pape Boniface le VIII^e^*, in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 214–219; *De recup.*, 59–62, 69, 71–79, 83–88, 117.

[37] Among the textbooks mentioned by Dubois are the Old and New Testaments, the Psalter, Donatus, Cato, the Gradual, Breviary and Missal, the *Aurea Legenda*, Theodolus, Tobias, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villedieu, the *Grecismus* of Eberhard of Bethune, Aristotle, the *Naturalia* of Albertus Magnus, the *Questiones Naturales* of Siger de Brabant, a work of like title by Thomas Aquinas, the *Liber Summarum* (identity not certain), Gratian's *Decretum*, and Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus*. He refers to an abridged version of the *Ethics* by Hermann the German. *De recup.*, 71–74, 79, 84; see also 48, 76, 81, 86–88, 90, 96. In paragraph 48 he emphasized the necessity of adapting and modifying laws and institutions to suit changed conditions.

administrators in the proposed Christian states in the Orient. They were to be men of affairs, not closet scholars.

Most of his ideas on education were already known. The thirteenth century, which opened with the Latin conquest of Constantinople, had witnessed a growing intimacy between the East and the West, culminating in the ephemeral union of the two churches at the Council of Lyons in 1274. French scholars were studying at Constantinople. Since the days of Innocent IV. a number of Greek students were supported at the University of Paris by contributions from western monastic foundations, the purpose being to train them in Catholic theology.[38] The Mongol conquests had introduced a new factor. Optimistic Catholics hoped that the followers of the Great Khan might be converted to Christianity and unite with the Latins in a war on Islam. The Franciscans Carpini and Rubruquis actually penetrated to the court of the Khan at Karakorum in an effort to realize this vain dream.[39] The Polos represented a more material interest in the Orient. Others had proposed the study of Oriental languages. The third Dominican General, Raymond of Peñaforte, established schools in African and Spanish monasteries for this purpose. Another Dominican General, Raymond Martini, was famous for his knowledge of Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabic. He even wrote a theological work against Islam in Arabic.[40] Roger

[38] H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895), I. 486. See also K. Neumann, *Ueber die Orientalischen Sprachstudien seit dem 13 Jahrhundert, mit Besonderer Rücksicht auf Wien* (Vienna, 1899). On June 22, 1248, Innocent IV. directed a bull to the chancellor of the University of Paris as formal notification that certain Oriental youths were to be sent to the university for instruction in theology, after which they might be sent to the Orient to instruct others in the true faith. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain (Paris, 1889–1897), I. 212. On the same date Innocent released the abbot and monks of St. Père de Chartres from the obligation to contribute funds toward the support of these Oriental youths. Potthast, *Regesta*, I. no. 12966.

[39] C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 279–317, 320–375. Shortly before the Council of Lyons in 1245 discussed ways and means for combating the Tatars, Innocent IV. commissioned an embassy of Franciscans to the Tatars to instruct them in the Christian faith. At the same time he urged the Tatars to desist from their attacks on the Christians. Potthast, I. nos. 11571, 11572. At the Council of Lyons in 1274 Pope Gregory IX. received an embassy sent by the Great Khan of Tatary, who desired to effect a confederation with the Christians against the Moslems. A few days later three of the embassy submitted to baptism. Hefele, *op. cit.*, VI. 138, 144. In 1291 Nicholas IV. urged the Tatar king to make war on the Moslems and submit to baptism. Potthast, II. no. 23797.

[40] The African and Spanish schools received the support of the Spanish monarchs. In 1254 a school for the study of Latin and Arabic was established at Seville. Scholz, *op. cit.*, p. 403, n. 222.

Bacon also advocated the study of modern languages, and not merely as a missionary tool, but for the sake of philology and scholarship. Raymond Lull advocated education as a means of propaganda. He succeeded in persuading the king of Majorca to found a monastery where a few brethren might study Arabic.[41] In 1312 the Council of Vienne directed that chairs of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean be established at the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca, and at Rome.[42]

While monastic and cathedral schools still provided for much of the elementary education of that day, independent schools both for boys and for girls were not at all unknown.[43] On the other hand, Dubois was probably in advance of his contemporaries in proposing that girls should regularly be admitted to professional schools. Throughout the Middle Ages there were numerous instances of women who managed to acquire training in the arts, in medicine, and even in theology, but these appear to have been exceptions rather than the result of a deliberate policy.[44] His suggestion that boys who proved to be unfitted for training in letters should devote their attention to the mechanic arts was purely incidental, and can scarcely be magnified into a proposal for vocational training.

With the exception of his definite plan for a court of international

[41] Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (Brewer's ed.), chs. xxv, xxvi, pp. 88–95. Pt. III. of the *Opus Majus* is devoted wholly to the subject of modern language study and its utility. Lull's monastery was established at Palma *ca.* 1291. Here Lull and thirteen brethren studied Arabic under the guidance of an Arab slave. Having familiarized themselves with the language the brethren went to Africa, where Lull succeeded in gaining some converts. Delaville le Roulx, *op. cit.*, I. 28 f. See also *Histoire Littéraire*, XXIX. 11.

[42] Delaville le Roulx, I. 30; Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II. 28–30; Hefele, VI. 545. The Greek and Hebrew professorships were actually established at Oxford; at least money was collected for the payment of the professors. Rashdall, II. 459.

[43] Rashdall, II. 597; F. A. Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Mitte des Dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1885), pt. 2, ch. xi, especially pp. 279, 294. In these schools the ordinary elementary training was available for boys and girls. There seems to have been little or no attempt at professional training aside from the universities, from which women were as a rule excluded.

[44] *De recup.*, 61, 74, 85, 86. I have searched in vain for traces of any earlier plan involving regular professional training for women. Nevertheless, many women managed to acquire a good education. The examples of Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim and Héloise are familiar. Women taught and practiced medicine at Salerno while that university was flourishing. Father Denifle even cites a rather doubtful instance of women teaching theology at Paris! Rashdall questions its authenticity. Rashdall, I. 86. Women who desired more than an elementary education were ordinarily obliged to have recourse to private tutors. It was quite usual for women of the nobility to acquire some training in medicine and surgery.

arbitration and the proposal for a system of schools regularly admitting women to professional training, nearly all of Dubois's ideas can be found in the writings of his contemporaries and predecessors. This does not imply that he was a mere plagiarist or that he was devoid of originality. It does show, however, that these ideas were not unknown in his time, even though he may have arrived at many of his conclusions independently. None of his contemporaries, not excepting Roger Bacon, displayed such catholicity of interest. Dubois's title to fame rests principally on the fact that he absorbed ideas previously expressed by others, elaborated on some of them, and combined the whole into a unified system. A thirteenth century lawyer, representative of his age, he attempted to solve the problems of his day in much the same spirit in which similar problems of our day are being met by the men of our own generation.

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BRITISH LABOR AND THE WAR-TIME COALITIONS

HATRED of war has always been characteristic of Socialism. As that international movement grew strong it appeared powerful enough to compel governments to keep the peace or else risk general strikes that would paralyze their action or even revolutions that would shake their authority. By a resolution adopted at the Stuttgart Congress of 1907 the constituent elements of the International were bound to take every step possible to prevent armed conflicts and, if in spite of their efforts war broke out, they were to take advantage of the opportunity to hasten the abolition of capitalist rule. A discussion of methods of exerting pressure on the governments was on the agenda of a congress scheduled to be held in Vienna in August, 1914, but that assembly was destined never to meet. The outbreak of the World War, accordingly, found the Socialist movement still undecided upon its plan of action. While the international organization was disrupted and the national groups rendered helpless by censorship and martial law, the swiftly moving military machines quickly put the situation hopelessly beyond their power to interfere. In the agony of the moment it is not surprising that even thoroughgoing Marxians should seize upon the distinction between "war of defense" and "war of aggression" and allow militant patriotism to triumph over pacifist internationalism. So, although until the very beginning of hostilities vast mass meetings in every capital called for peace, the declarations of war were answered by no general economic or political action on the part of the proletariat. The great majority, on the contrary, rushed to the aid of their respective governments. Émile Vandervelde, chairman of the International Socialist Bureau, entered the Belgian cabinet. In France Jules Guesde, ardent Marxian and opponent of all coalition with non-Socialist ministries, together with Marcel Sembat and Albert Thomas, accepted cabinet office. The syndicalist Confédération Générale de Travail exhorted all trade unionists to fight for France, and Gustave Hervé, who once had advised soldiers to desert in case of war, now voluntarily offered to serve in the army. Some of the Russian leaders agreed with the French Socialist view of the war, although the Social Democrats in the Duma distrusted the Czarist government so much that they refused to vote credits. The Austro-Hungarian Socialists, fearful of Russia, at the outset regarded the war as defensive. In Germany the hundred and ten representatives in the Reichstag, the strongest

Socialist parliamentary bloc in the world, by the application of the unit rule cast a unanimous vote for the first war credit. Even after Liebknecht, Haase, and Ledebour led a minority into secession and returned to the preaching of internationalism, Ebert, Scheidemann, and the majority continued to support the government.

The events of 1914 brought British Labor, too, sharply up against the problem of how to meet a crisis threatening war. True to the traditional pacifist tendency, in Parliament and in the country their forces strove to keep the Empire out of the impending conflict. Manifestoes and meetings, culminating in the Trafalgar Square demonstration of August 2, testified to the sincerity of their desire for peace. The violation of Belgian neutrality, however, solidified opinion behind the government, so that Labor settled down to the immediate problem of bringing the war to a victorious conclusion. Committees were formed to assist in the prosecution of the war and to relieve the distress incident to it. The party machinery was lent for recruiting campaigns. The declaration of an industrial truce implied a refusal to utilize the crisis to hasten the downfall of capitalism by the "direct action" methods most commonly advocated in the International.[1] On August 29, 1914, the executive committee of the Labor party entered into an electoral truce with the Liberals and Unionists under which no by-elections were to be contested and each seat falling vacant was to be retained by the party to which the late member belonged.[2] The first months of the war, accordingly, found Labor virtually unanimous in its willingness to coöperate with the older parties in support of the declared aims of the government.

At this point it should be noted that at the beginning of the war the Labor party was a federal body. Its numerical strength was found in the trade unions, although not all were affiliated to it. Socialist theory had only partially permeated their ranks and they were loyal supporters of the official view of the war. The names of their outstanding leaders, Arthur Henderson, J. R. Clynes, and J. H. Thomas, are to be met with in every discussion of British Labor problems. The other components of the party were local groups, the Women's Labor League, and the Socialist societies. In the last

[1] The British Labor party, the Independent Labor party, the Fabian Society, and the British Socialist party were all affiliated to the International Socialist Congress. The materials used in the preparation of this article are in the Hoover War Library, Stanford University, California.

[2] The first truce held good until Jan. 1, 1915. It was subsequently renewed at various dates until Dec. 31, 1916. *Report of the Eighteenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party* (June, 1918), p. 6. In accordance with this arrangement Labor retained the seats at Attercliffe and Bolton without a contest. *Labor Year Book*, 1916, p. 19.

named were to be found not more than two per cent. of Labor's voting strength, but their influence was far out of proportion to their numbers. The few thousand members of the Fabian Society, whose outlook can be found in the *New Statesman*, supported the war as a battle for democracy. The Independent Labor party (the I.L.P.), with Keir Hardie, Ramsay MacDonald, and Philip Snowden in its ranks, was considerably larger with a membership of about thirty thousand. The majority of the I.L.P., although not actively opposing the war, very early manifested a primary interest in the peace issue and in international Socialism. Their chief organs were the Manchester *Labor Leader* and the Glasgow *Forward*. The orthodox Marxian British Socialist party (the B.S.P.), which affiliated with the Labor party in 1916, suffered a split. The increasing pacifism of the majority led in March, 1916, to the secession of a considerable section, including H. M. Hyndman and their other best known leaders, who founded a new pro-war National Socialist party. The seceders carried with them the party organ, *Justice*, which the B.S.P. replaced with the *Call*.

At the outbreak of the war the Liberal government of Asquith was in power. The legal term of the Parliament ended in 1915, but by common agreement an election was postponed at first for a year and finally until the end of the war. In May, 1915, a political crisis threatened because of the reported shortage of munitions and the bitter quarrel between Lord Fisher and Winston Churchill over the Gallipoli failure. The outcry was so great that the Prime Minister announced a reconstruction of his government by the inclusion of the leaders of the other parties. Naturally the coöperation of the Unionists was the first necessity, but it was universally recognized that Labor as well must have its share in any government which aspired to be "national". It was now obvious that the war would have to be won in the workshop as much as at the front and that a careful handling of labor problems was necessary.[3]

On May 19 the Prime Minister extended to the Labor party through its secretary, Arthur Henderson, an invitation to assist in forming a coalition government with Henderson himself as a member of the cabinet.[4] He emphasized the point that no political ideals were involved and that it was a union for war purposes only. The invitation, nevertheless, confronted the executive committee with a difficulty. It was mindful of the fate of small third parties that in the past had entered fusion governments. Moreover, in order to

[3] *Times*, May 17–20, 1915.

[4] *Report of the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party* (1916), p. 5.

keep the movement pointed straight for its own goal, a provision against joining any "capitalist" government had been inserted in the party constitution. Most of the committee had contributed to the making of the rigid constitution, but admittedly they had never contemplated such a crisis as had come to pass. The committee, accordingly, followed the example of the French and Belgian comrades, put patriotic considerations foremost, and by a vote of nine to three decided for acceptance.[5] On the same day the Parliamentary party by the narrow margin of nine to eight came to a contrary decision. Among the opponents of Asquith's plan were the noted leaders of the I.L.P., Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, J. R. Clynes, and F. W. Jowett. The deadlock was broken by a joint session of the two bodies in which the vote was seventeen to eleven for acceptance, a verdict which made Labor the first party to obtain in advance the sanction of its members for the far reaching changes in the cabinet.[6]

Into the coalition went Henderson as president of the Board of Education with a seat in the cabinet.[7] This office was to a large extent nominal as his most valuable service would be rendered as labor adviser to the government. Acceptance involved no relinquishment of the secretaryship of the Labor party. Besides the cabinet post two places in the ministry were awarded to Labor: William Brace became Under-Secretary for Home Affairs and G. H. Roberts a Junior Lord of the Treasury. In the House of Commons the presence of Liberals, Unionists, and Laborites on the Treasury Bench symbolized the national unity. The little knot of Socialists of the I.L.P. indicated their resentment by joining some of the irreconcilable radicals in the old seats of the Opposition.[8]

When Henderson stood for reëlection at Barnard Castle his constituents heartily endorsed his entry into office. In fact, in the absence of a better alternative, the great bulk of Labor applauded the decision. It was consistent, it was said, with the policy followed since the outbreak of the war and it was the logical outcome of the party truce and joint recruiting. In face of a military position so serious and an immediate danger so great the rigid constitution would have to bend. Any contrary policy, Henderson warned, might have brought the party into disfavor and reduced it to impotence.[9]

[5] *Forward*, May 29, 1915.

[6] *Manchester Guardian*, May 20, 1915.

[7] In August, 1916, Henderson resigned as Minister of Education and became Paymaster General.

[8] *Times*, June 4, 1915.

[9] *Ibid.*, May 31, 1915.

Such opposition as was vocal came chiefly from the small Socialist societies. Coalition was to them a fundamental political error. It was inconsistent with the purpose for which the party was founded, namely, an independent organization specifically representative of Labor interests. Without consulting the rank and file the leaders were now sacrificing the very reason for the party's existence. To the Marxians of the B.S.P. and the more radical elements of the I.L.P the theory of the Coalition was untenable. The war, they urged, did not cancel capitalism. The only struggle which held any interest for the masses was that class war in which the inexorable laws of capitalism permitted no truce. Coalition, therefore, was a misalliance of natural and irreconcilable enemies and a betrayal of the fundamental principles of labor and internationalism. While it enthroned reaction, it disarmed Labor. Instead of being a protection against the Liberal-Tory combine, Henderson's presence in the cabinet would result only in closing his own mouth. He and his Labor colleagues were mere hostages, while the voices of their followers in the House of Commons were stifled and committed to policies inconsistent with their principles. The end of the war, accordingly, would find the vitality of the party sapped and its prestige among the workers gone. Then with the tremendously important questions of peace and reconstruction to be solved, the Coalition would be in the saddle, while Labor would be bound to it with its hands tied and its mouth closed. Its leaders, having once forsaken their class to associate with their enemies, like John Burns in an earlier day, would be unable, or even unwilling, to slip back into their places. Some of the intelligentsia perceived grave constitutional defects in government by coalition. The British system, they maintained, demanded an Opposition to furnish responsible criticism, but the specific purpose of this fusion was to eliminate the Opposition. Except for the I.L.P. members and a few radicals it would be provided with no such salutary criticism from the floor of the House of Commons. Under the new régime that body would be reduced to impotence and the principle of parliamentary control of the executive much impaired.[10]

As an alternative to coalition the dissentients thought they could best serve the nation by continuing their informal coöperation, but as independent critics outside the government.[11] From a more partisan point of view Labor would in the long run profit by regaining its

[10] *New Statesman*, May 22, 1915, Feb. 19, Dec. 16, 1916; *Call*, May 18, Aug. 17, 1916; *Forward*, May 29–June 12, 1915, Feb. 12, 1916; *Manchester Guardian*, May 21, 1915; *Labor Year Book*, 1919, pp. 148–149.

[11] Philip Snowden in the *Manchester Guardian*, May 21, 1915.

independence. It should take the front bench in opposition and when the inevitable reaction occurred and the Coalition broke up, it would emerge a united body in a very strong position.[12]

Until the crisis over conscription in January, 1916, the overwhelming majority of Labor accepted the Coalition. The movement was traditionally opposed to the idea of forcing anyone to kill his fellow men and in order to save the voluntary principle many members of the party had actively engaged in recruiting. The failure of the Derby plan to produce fully satisfactory results, however, led to the introduction of a Military Service Bill which imposed compulsion upon certain classes. The argument for the measure was strong enough to induce Arthur Henderson and a numerous following to reverse their position, but the majority remained unalterably opposed. The bill was condemned as unnecessary, unfair because unaccompanied by a corresponding conscription of wealth, a part of the Prussianism they were striving to destroy, and, above all, an entering wedge for industrial conscription.[13] The issue was so weighty that a special national conference was summoned for January 6, 1916, to consider it. The miners were to meet separately, but all the other groups affiliated to the Labor party, the Trade Union Congress (the T.U.C.), and the General Federation of Trade Unions (the G.F.T.U.) were to attend. For the first time the three great Labor organizations were to deliberate together.

On the eve of the conference the three national committees, namely, the executive committee of the Labor party, the Parliamentary committee of the T.U.C., and the management committee of the G.F.T.U., met and decided to urge the passage of a resolution allowing every Labor member of Parliament liberty to vote for or against the bill without fear of penalty. In spite of this official backing the conference next day scrapped the resolution and by a majority of nearly two to one carried a hostile amendment recommending opposition at all stages. Since the party constitution provided that the Labor members must observe the decisions of a national conference, the Labor executive and Parliamentary party in joint session took the serious step of withdrawing from the Coalition. The three ministers, although personally out of harmony with the decision, had been elected the previous May as the party representatives in the government and they now felt obliged to submit to the adverse vote. They were alive to the importance of their action because, as Henderson pointed out in the conference, the Liberal Sir John Simon could resign on the issue as an individual, but such a withdrawal of the

[12] *Forward*, May 29–June 12, 1915.

[13] *New Statesman*, Jan. 15, 1916.

Labor representatives took out of the Coalition one of its constituent elements.[14]

The Prime Minister was loath to lose the support of Labor and exerted his influence to secure a reconsideration. When at midday, January 7, the three ministers met to draft their letter of resignation, Henderson received requests from Asquith and Bonar Law for an interview. Later in the afternoon it took place and, although no agreement on major issues was reached, the resignations were held in abeyance. The Labor men disappeared from the Treasury Bench, but on invitation from the Prime Minister, Henderson continued to attend the cabinet sessions to keep them informed on the situation. On January 10 the cabinet decided that the Prime Minister should have a conference with the Labor executive and the Parliamentary party. It followed two days later in Asquith's private room in the House of Commons. The discussion turned almost entirely upon Labor's criticism that the bill in its existing form might become a dangerous instrument in the hands of unscrupulous employers and an entering wedge for industrial compulsion. The Prime Minister was conciliatory. He gave assurance there was no such intention and promised safeguards. The Labor men were impressed by his statements and with only a few dissentients agreed to remain in the Coalition until the whole matter could be laid before the forthcoming party conference at Bristol. Meantime, they would leave individual members full freedom of action on the Military Service Bill.[15] In the House of Commons the Prime Minister made public his pledge to Labor and, pending the decision of the Bristol conference, Henderson, Brace, and Roberts resumed their posts.

The fifteenth annual conference of the Labor party, summoned to meet on January 26–28, 1916, at Bristol, was impatiently awaited by the rank and file. Due to the abandonment of the 1915 assembly, it was the first since the outbreak of the war. It would provide, therefore, the first accurate index to opinion on many vexing problems. On the eve of the general session a preliminary conference of the miners foreshadowed the probable course of events. This powerful federation, like several other large unions, weighted its importance in the party councils by the block system of voting under which its entire strength was cast as the majority dictated. The radical South Wales group had already signified their opposition to Labor's retention of office.[16] A resolution to that effect now had the backing

[14] *Times*, Jan. 7, 1916; *Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 7, 1916.

[15] *Report of the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party* (1916), pp. 8, 57, 127; *Labor Leader*, Jan. 13–20, 1916; *Times*, Jan. 11–13, 1916; *Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 10–13, 1916.

[16] *Times*, Jan. 19, 1916.

of Robert Smillie, the miners' chairman, but in spite of his powerful support it was defeated two to one, which indicated that all the votes, 600,000 out of a conference total of 2,100,000, would be cast on the side of the Coalition.[17]

When the Labor delegates assembled at Bristol their patriotic temper was soon manifest. Except for the I.L.P. the votes were almost unanimous in justifying participation in the war, the political truce, and the recruiting campaigns. The Military Service Bill was disapproved by an immense majority, but, now that it had recently passed the third reading, a move for a repeal agitation was defeated. Finally, came the two ballots on coalition. The action of May, 1915, was emphatically endorsed by a vote of 1,674,000 to 269,000. A somewhat stronger minority appeared on the question of continuing the fusion, however, and the debate revealed the fact that the Conscription Bill had changed some votes. Yet the sentiment was uppermost that the Coalition in spite of its faults furnished emphatic proof to all the world that Great Britain was unitedly determined to see the war through, while withdrawal was a move susceptible to dangerous misinterpretation both by the Allies and by their enemies. The Coalitionists won decisively by 1,622,000 to 495,000. It should be pointed out, however, that often the block votes concealed substantial minorities, which with the miners, for example, amounted to one-third of the total. In spite of this fact even those who were most skeptical of the benefits of coalition believed that in the main the ballot faithfully mirrored Labor's opinion.[18]

Throughout 1916 the Labor party in and out of the House of Commons continued to support the Coalition. Until the beginning of December, when the dispute between Asquith and Lloyd George over the proposed War Cabinet came to a head, there was no need to reconsider this position. In the early stages of that crisis Labor had no part. In spite of plentiful rumors even their leaders had little accurate knowledge of the situation and so were surprised at the sudden upheaval. Whatever faults might be found with Asquith as Prime Minister, no alternative was to them more attractive. On December 1 Arthur Henderson referred to him as "the indispensable man" to lead Great Britain successfully to the end of the war. On December 5 the acting chairman of the party, G. J. Wardle, issued a strong pronouncement in favor of Asquith,[19] but later on that very

[17] *Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 26, 1916.

[18] *Report of the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party* (1916), pp. 105, 124–128; *Times*, Jan. 28–29, 1916; *Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 26–29, 1916; *New Statesman*, Feb. 5, 1916.

[19] Philip Snowden in the *Labor Leader*, Nov. 30, 1916; *Times*, Dec. 2, 6, 1916.

day the premier resigned and the king sent for Bonar Law. Bonar Law conferred with Asquith, Lloyd George, Balfour, and Henderson, but failed to secure the support of the Asquithians and Labor. On the sixth Lloyd George received the opportunity he coveted. These developments took place so rapidly that, when the Labor executive and Parliamentary party met in joint conference, it was already too late to express any preference for the retention of the late government. They found themselves confronted by a new situation with Lloyd George ready and anxious to make overtures to them. Although unanimous against the methods by which Lloyd George and Northcliffe had brought down the Coalition, the party was undecided what to do. For Asquith there was a high personal regard, but Lloyd George was distrusted as an intriguer, who had won his place by "as vile a conspiracy as ever disgraced English political life". The parliamentary committee of the T.U.C. condemned those responsible as men who failed to observe the loyalty and self-sacrifice they had so repeatedly urged upon the working classes. Others pointed out how sinister was the action of an influential section of the press, which in a national crisis deliberately destroyed a government.[20] Although in the interest of efficiency many welcomed the idea of a War Cabinet, the majority feared it as constitutionally dangerous. It would be virtually a triumvirate of the premier, Milner, and Curzon and end in a dictatorship. Those of the left wing interested in a peace-by-negotiations program predicted that it meant the supremacy of a reckless fight-to-a-finish group. The only Labor element that rejoiced in the fall of Asquith was a small faction on the extreme right, the British Workers' National League, which had been formed earlier in the year to counteract the pacifist tendencies of the left. It was vehement in its attacks on the late Coalition and welcomed any step in the concentration of power that might help win the war.[21]

Early on December 7 the executive and the Parliamentary party considered the situation. Through Henderson they heard Lloyd George's invitation to join the new Coalition, whereupon they decided to seek a personal and fuller explanation. The meeting took place at noon at the War Office. Much depended upon it, because the

[20] *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party* (1917), p. 43; *New Statesman*, Dec. 9, 1916. Two columns of an article captioned "Had Zimri Peace?" are blank because the contents were deleted upon receipt of the news that Lloyd George was then Prime Minister. (The Biblical reference is to I. Kings, 16); Snowden in the *Labor Leader*, Dec. 14, 1916; *Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 7, 1916; J. H. Thomas in the *Times*, Dec. 11, 1916.

[21] *New Statesman*, Dec. 16, 1916; *Labor Leader*, Dec. 7–14, 1916; *Call*, Dec. 7–14, 1916; *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Dec. 2–9, 1916.

official Liberals had decided to stand out and the attitude of Labor might very well determine the fate of Lloyd George's effort. Lloyd George was ready to bid high for their support. He admitted the justice of their claim to a greater share in the responbilities of office and agreed that Labor should have a place on the War Cabinet, the Pensions Ministry, the new Ministry of Labor, and several lesser posts. He foreshadowed strong action with respect to food production, the control of coal mines and shipping, and the mobilization of labor. He made, furthermore, a promise, not disclosed till the end of the war, that Labor should have direct representation at the Peace Congress.[22] A number of questions, especially that of industrial conscription, were raised by his auditors. Lloyd George explained that a scheme to beat up volunteers was contemplated and, if that failed, mobilization of labor might follow. This question was left open as the Labor members preferred to await the definite plan. On the question of civil liberties and rights of propaganda, Lloyd George reminded them that he himself had once been an opponent of war and that he would be no party to a policy of repression and persecution.[23] The Labor men then withdrew to discuss a position which all felt to be serious.

Later in the day the two committees held their meeting in which the debate did not always run smoothly. Once more it was apparent how little sympathy there was for the methods by which the break-up of the old government had been secured, but, as it could not be restored, the party looked to the future. Henderson, seconded by Brace, Roberts, Barnes, O'Grady, and other trade union representatives, strongly urged his followers to throw in their lot with Lloyd George. Clynes, who had opposed the first Coalition, was now converted. MacDonald, Snowden, and the left wingers were irreconcileable as ever, but the idea prevailed that by joining they might help mold the government's policy and tenure of office would afford them valuable experience. By the narrow majority of five it was decided to enter the Coalition.[24] Acceptance was coupled with a resolution hoping that the new government would endeavor to settle the Irish question.

[22] *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party* (1917), pp. 3, 43; *I.L.P. Conference Report* (1917), p. 13; *Times*, Dec. 8, 1916, Nov. 14, 1918.

[23] *Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 8, 1916.

[24] *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party* (1917), pp. 3, 43; *Times*, Dec. 8, 1916; *Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 11, 1916; G. N. Barnes, *From Workshop to War Cabinet* (New York, 1924), p. 138.

The accession of Labor was a great victory for Lloyd George. It created a profound impression and insured his success.[25] When the ministerial list appeared, it contained six Labor names. Henderson went to the War Cabinet of five. John Hodge and G. N. Barnes were both in the cabinet, the former in charge of the first Ministry of Labor and the latter over the newly created Pensions Ministry. In the ministry William Brace continued as Under-Secretary for Home Affairs, G. H. Roberts became Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, and James Parker a Junior Lord of the Treasury.[26] In the House of Commons the party under the leadership of G. J. Wardle, were now ranged behind ministers, but the "pacifist group" of the I.L.P. took their seats with the Asquithian Liberals on the Opposition benches. In the country the masses hearkened to the plea that the new government must be given every possible chance, but the Socialist minority left no doubt of their contempt for the "bargain" with Lloyd George.[27] An opportunity to test the relative strength of the two opinions would come during the next month when the annual party conference would assemble at Manchester.

In one respect the action of Labor in December, 1916, marks the establishment of its independence. Hitherto the numerically weak party had been compelled to operate something like a left wing of Liberalism. In the second Coalition it was associated with the Lloyd George group and the Unionists, while the official Liberals were in opposition. Thenceforth, Labor pursued a more independent career.

In the Manchester conference of January 23–26, 1917, the eagerly awaited debate on the Coalition came at the outset. Henderson earnestly and simply set forth the view of the executive committee and Parliamentary party, saying that in the crisis, Labor should be more concerned with what it could give than what it could get. He was ably seconded by J. H. Thomas and J. R. Clynes, both only recently convinced of the necessity for coalition. The opposition was voiced chiefly by E. C. Fairchild (B.S.P.) and Philip Snowden (I.L.P.). The latter attacked the plea of expediency and necessity with the passionate scorn and bitter irony of which Snowden was master. The debate affected few votes, however, as most of them were cast according to the previous instructions of the constituencies. Coalition was endorsed by a vote of 1,849,000 to 307,000, which was a majority even more decisive than that of the previous year at

[25] *Times*, Dec. 8, 1916.

[26] Early in 1917 Stephen Walsh became Parliamentary Secretary for National Service and in July, 1918, J. R. Clynes became Food Controller.

[27] *Call*, Dec. 14, 1916; *Labor Leader*, Dec. 14, 1916; *Forward*, Dec. 16, 1916.

Bristol. Yet it should be noted that of the opposition all but 40,000 were accounted for by non-Socialist groups and once more the system of block votes concealed considerable minorities. It was observed, too, that the leaders of the left were personally popular, as never before had MacDonald and Snowden received such spontaneous ovations. While the six to one majority testified eloquently to Labor's approval of a vigorous prosecution of the war, the enthusiasm for the radical leaders bore witness that the rank and file were alert to the importance of the party's independence.[28]

The Manchester vote was the last of such overwhelming majorities, because during 1917 a significant change came over the Labor outlook. Until that date the great mass had accepted the official view of the war and its aims, which accounts for the slender support extended to the Socialists and pacifists. But in the course of the year there was a decided shift on the part of the trade union center, which began to approach the position of the radical left. The causes were complex. It was in part war weariness and discontent due to high prices. There was resentment at the resort to conscription and fear that the trade union conditions, once given up, would not be restored. There was disappointment at the failure to make more of the German peace offer of December, 1916. A loss of confidence in the Allied governments followed the exposure of their secret aims. Above all, the Russian Revolution, with its direct appeal to the peoples of all the belligerents for a peace without annexations or indemnities, affected the Labor mind. A peace-by-negotiations movement gained headway and there was much sentiment in favor of the proposed Stockholm conference, a plan by which the democracies of all the warring nations would meet to settle upon terms of peace. The result was the strengthening of all left wing tendencies, accompanied by a shift of opinion which proceeded faster and farther than government circles or even the party leaders realized. Such a cleavage between the bulk of organized Labor and the government inevitably put the Labor ministers in a difficult situation. Arthur Henderson, in his dual position of secretary of the party and member of the War Cabinet, was the first to suffer the consequences.

In May, 1917, Henderson was sent on an official mission to Russia in the hope of improving relations with the powerful Labor and Socialist elements in that country. There he became impressed with the necessity of bringing Allied war aims into harmony with those of the Russian revolutionary leaders and he was converted to the

[28] *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party* (1917), pp. 82–96; *New Statesman*, Jan. 27, 1917; *Socialist Review*, Jan.–Mar., 1917; *Labor Leader*, Jan. 25, Feb. 1, 1917; *Call*, Feb. 1, 1917.

idea of an immediate conference of Labor and Socialist parties at Stockholm. Soon after his return to England, July 24, he took the initiative in arranging a special Labor conference on the Stockholm question and with some Russian delegates prepared to cross the Channel to interview the French Socialists. Although at an earlier date Lloyd George himself had toyed with the Stockholm idea, Henderson now found the government hostile to every such suggestion. In the absence of the premier, Bonar Law held a special cabinet meeting which expressed disapproval of Henderson's course. Even the Labor ministers were against him. Henderson, nevertheless, made the trip to Paris. Upon his return another special session of the cabinet was held, but, while his case was being discussed, he was kept waiting outside, whereupon the story of "Labor on the door-mat" aroused much resentment among his followers.[29] Lloyd George now left no doubt of the government's opposition to Stockholm. A legal opinion was obtained that the common law forbade intercourse with enemy aliens without license. There arrived from Russia, moreover, news which for the moment cast doubt upon the attitude of the Kerensky government toward the proposed congress.

The Labor executive, meantime, determined to proceed with the Stockholm plan and asked Henderson to state their case to a special conference summoned for August 10. Largely on the strength of his representations and advice, the delegates at London gave him a favorable majority of three to one. It was a personal triumph for Henderson. This decisive ballot was a surprise to the government and to large sections of the public, who were thereby suddenly apprised of the extent of Labor's "swing to the left". Almost the whole of the press opened a campaign of denunciation against the Labor minister. A cabinet crisis threatened. On the very night of the London conference Lloyd George and Henderson had an interview which led, August 11, to the latter's resignation.

Some very unpleasant features were connected with Henderson's withdrawal. In the press and in the House of Commons the Prime Minister raised serious charges. He asserted that Henderson had led the government to believe it was his intention to exert his influence against Stockholm, but, although a member of the War Cabinet, he had failed to inform the conference of the government's views or even to communicate the full content of a Russian telegram which denied that Kerensky ardently desired the Stockholm congress. This last point, asserted the premier, was vital because of

[29] *Parliamentary Debates,* Fifth ser., Vol. XCVII. 925; Barnes, *op. cit.,* pp. 155–159.

his conviction that, if the conference had possessed complete information, the vote would have been very different.[30]

On August 13 Henderson made his defense in the House of Commons. After explaining his support of Stockholm, he denied flatly that he had even hinted an intention to do otherwise than continue the course to which he had committed himself. No request had been made that he act as the mouthpiece of the government, so he had spoken only as secretary of the Labor party. As to the Russian dispatch, he had given the essential facts when he referred to a certain modification of their attitude and he could not have read the particular telegram in question because it reached him only when the session was breaking up.[31]

It is impossible to reconcile the conflicting statements of the two men. Obviously there was a misunderstanding of Henderson's intentions. Without doubt he thought he had fairly summarized the position of the Russian government and in fact it soon developed that Lloyd George was mistaken and that the Russians did want the conference.[32] Underlying the whole difficulty was the problem of one minister acting in dual capacities. However conscientious Henderson might have been, it was impossible for him to speak at one moment as a member of the cabinet and at another as an entirely detached and independent spokesman of Labor.

For some time the controversy over this resignation raged violently. To the Labor left it seemed a "blatant expulsion" and a breach of the contract by which the party had entered the cabinet.[33] Despite these ebullitions, however, the cabinet readjustments were soon made. G. N. Barnes, who had substituted for Henderson during the latter's absence in Russia, went to the War Cabinet and John Hodge became Minister of Pensions. G. H. Roberts succeeded Hodge as Minister of Labor and G. J. Wardle entered the ministry as Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade.

There were echoes of this affair at the second Stockholm conference of August 21 and the September meeting of the T.U.C. at Blackpool, but the first good expression of party sentiment came from the annual conference held January 23–25, 1918, at Nottingham. After an interval of several weeks it was possible to arrive at a sober judgment. An attack upon the Coalition was launched by the Manchester and Salford Labor party supported by the B.S.P. and

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 925–932; *Times*, Aug. 13, 1917.

[31] *Parliamentary Debates*, Fifth ser., Vol. XCVII. 909–923; *Manchester Guardian*, Aug. 22, 1917.

[32] *New Statesman*, Aug. 18, 1917; *Manchester Guardian*, Aug. 22, 1917.

[33] *Call*, Aug. 16, 1917; *New Statesman*, Aug. 18, 1917.

other "left" groups. Henderson then put his own and the executive committee's position. He avowed that he himself had seen enough of coalitions and never again would he be a member of one unless Labor was in control, but he was opposed to hampering the existing government, because the same exceptional circumstances that led to its formation were unchanged. Moreover, if they brought down the government and precipitated a general election, it would interfere with the international movement for a people's peace which appeared so promising.[34] The issue of the hour might best be served by neither passing nor rejecting the resolution, but by carrying "the previous question". A motion to this effect was made and the conference registered its approval of the executive's wishes by a vote of 1,885,000 to 722,000. The delegates thereby preserved the appearance of unanimity in the nation and avoided any act that might provoke a cabinet crisis. The minority made another attempt indirectly at the same goal by a declaration that upon acceptance of an official position with the government no member of the executive committee should retain his position with that body. This resolution, aimed at J. R. Clynes and G. J. Wardle, was negatived by a two to one vote.[35]

Each side derived some satisfaction from the results of the conference. The majority could point to the votes which snowed under any move that might hinder the prosecution of the war. In spite of the "swing to the left" and the strength of the peace movement, there was an obvious reluctance to betray to the world any break in the national front. The minority stressed the enormous increase in their strength since the Manchester conference and the fact that a direct vote on the straight issue was shirked. It was, moreover, apparent to all that sentiment was drifting away from the ministerial group and that the leader who commanded the greatest measure of support was Henderson, now unrestrained by cabinet position.

As the year 1918 wore on Labor became more restless in the bonds of coalition. The left became more outspoken and also more heeded. The Labor ministers were subjected to a sniping criticism in the columns of the *Call*, *Forward*, and the *Labor Leader*, and some were even repudiated by Labor organizations in their own constituencies. It was charged that instead of Labor ideals permeating the government, the reverse had happened and that coalition turned the party into an agency for the pacification of the masses. Instead

[34] The party was now vigorously pushing its peace program adopted at the special conference of Dec. 28, 1917.

[35] *Report of the Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party* (January, 1918), pp. 116–117; *New Statesman*, Jan. 26, 1918; *Times*, Jan. 25, 1918.

of protection they had secured autocracy, censorship, loss of liberty, Munitions Acts, and conscription. In place of promoting their own ideals they were asked to support the secret treaties, "the most outrageous documents ever written".[36] While they were so handicapped, they could never further peace by negotiations or set an example to the German workers to dissociate themselves from the junkers and militarists who ruled them. Moreover, a general election could not be far distant and it was difficult to see how the party could consistently be a part of the Coalition, supporting its policy and officially responsible for it up to the eve of a general election, then suddenly resume opposition and appeal for separate representation in Parliament.[37]

The discontent vented itself in the by-elections. On the whole the party truce had been well kept. Labor secured the unopposed return of a few candidates, but obviously the arrangement was disadvantageous to the small, growing party, which had to forego contesting several by-elections for every one in which it could replace its own member without a fight. The first departure from the spirit of the truce came in November, 1915, when the death of Keir Hardie created a vacancy in Merthyr. In that old stronghold of the I.L.P. an independent pro-war Labor man with unofficial Unionist and Liberal backing captured the seat,[38] a procedure which the left wing loudly asserted to be a violation of the truce. During the "swing to the left" of 1917 a number of peace-by-negotiations candidates received unofficial support from the Socialist groups, but the only independent to win a seat was Ben Tillet at North Salford on a pro-war platform. In 1918, however, the strength of the independence movement was manifested in some large polls. In April at Keighley, in spite of the refusal of the national Labor party to break the truce, the I.L.P. sanctioned a candidate who received a good third of the ballots cast. A month later a miners' candidate at Wansbeck came within a few hundred votes of winning.[39] It was a warning that the rank and file were assuming the lead.

The party executive discovered their hand forced by their followers. They were unanimous in their preference for the truce, but found themselves in an awkward position with their own people appealing for assistance in by-elections and setting aside their wishes.

[36] *Report of the Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party* (January, 1918), p. 116; *Call*, June 13, 1918.

[37] *Report of the Eighteenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party* (June, 1918), p. 27; *Call*, Jan. 31, 1918; *Labor Leader*, Jan. 17, Mar. 28, June 13, 1918.

[38] *Times*, Nov. 27, 1915; *Forward*, Dec. 4, 1915.

[39] *Report of the Annual Conference of the Independent Labor Party* (1919), p. 13; *Labor Leader*, Apr. 4–June 6, 1918.

It was not until after the unmistakable verdict at Wansbeck that they changed their attitude. It was then decided to put the matter before the next conference, which, under the newly adopted constitution of the party, would be held June 26–28 at London.[40] At once it became apparent that a warm contest would follow. On the eve of the conference, June 21, the eight Labor ministers issued a manifesto protesting against the constant sniping from the left to which they had been subjected and defending their official record.[41] It remained for the voice of the Labor parliament to prove whether or not tenure of office had put the ministers out of touch with the rank and file.

When Henderson presented the executive committee's resolution, the delegates were surprised to learn that since the end of December, 1916, there had actually been no signed truce. After the formation of the Lloyd George Coalition the other parties had desired to alter the wording of the agreement in a way unacceptable to Labor, so that since that date it had rested only on mutual understanding. The committee still favored its retention, he explained, but since the violations had placed them in such a difficult situation, it was necessary to end the uncertainty and discover exactly where they stood. He made it clear that the resolution applied only to by-elections. He denied that there was any connection between ending the truce and a withdrawal of the Labor ministers, a step which would be opposed by the executive.

A heated and lengthy debate, with many interruptions from the floor, followed Henderson's statement. Robert Smillie (Miners' Federation) and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst (B.S.P.) urged them to withdraw the ministers as well as end the truce. G. N. Barnes answered for his colleagues and himself. He was convinced that the resolution put them in an impossible position, because the party might demand their support for one candidate and the Prime Minister for another, an embarrassing situation which would make continued participation in the government impossible. Clynes held to a middle course. On the resolution he took no decided stand, but disagreed with Barnes in thinking that freedom in by-elections was compatible with the retention of responsibility.[42]

The outcome was no surprise to close followers of Labor politics. By a vote of 1,704,000 to 951,000 the resolution carried. Hender-

[40] *Report of the Eighteenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party*, (June, 1918), p. 32; *Call*, June 13–20, 1918; *Labor Leader*, June 13, 1918.

[41] *Labor Leader*, June 27, 1918

[42] *Report of the Eighteenth Annual Conference of the Labor Party* (June, 1918), pp. 31–39; *Call*, July 4, 1918; *Labor Leader*, July 4, 1918.

son and the committee had correctly sensed the feeling of the majority, who were determined upon more party independence, but, because of the critical situation on the Western Front, were unwilling to hamper the government by withdrawing their representatives. Both extremes, however, were dissatisfied. A small group of right wing trade unionists, led by J. Havelock Wilson, president of the Seamen, repudiated the decision and resolved to urge upon the next meeting of the Trade Union Congress the formation of a separate party from which the Socialist elements would be excluded. Some of the Labor ministers accepted the vote with obvious reluctance. The three senior members, Barnes, Hodge, and Roberts, who were the farthest "right" and rapidly getting out of touch with the movement, seriously considered resigning and seeking reëlection from their constituents. It required tactful handling on the part of the executive committee to prevent a split. At the other extreme the Socialist left welcomed the end of the truce because they regarded withdrawal from the Coalition as the necessary, if not inevitable, sequel.[43]

It was not until the end of the war that Labor abandoned the Coalition. About the time of the armistice it was seen that a general election would be called by the Prime Minister, so a special conference was summoned for November 14 to decide the party's electoral policy and future relations with the Lloyd George government. On these questions a difference of opinion developed between the Parliamentary party and the executive committee. A majority of the former favored retention of the existing connection, while the latter inclined toward withdrawal. J. R. Clynes urged that the agreement for the war should end only with the actual signing of the treaty and that relinquishment of office at the present moment would forfeit their right to go to the peace conference.[44] Sentiment among the rank and file, though, was with the committee. It was argued that with the armistice the necessity for the sacrifice of independence disappeared. A new Parliament would be elected for the reconstruction period and the only way for Labor to forward its own program would be to resume freedom of action. If Labor ever hoped to be a truly national party, it must assert its claims at once. An important factor underlying this point of view was a confident feeling that Labor could now afford to take risks. With a rapid increase in trade union membership had come self-reliance, and the assurance that they could make their will known at the mine, on the railway,

[43] *Times*, July 1–2, 1918; *New Statesman*, June 29, 1918; *Socialist Review*, Oct.–Dec., 1918, p. 314.

[44] *Labor Leader*, Nov. 14, 1918.

or in the workshop made them feel less dependent on a few members in Parliament or cabinet.[45]

When the conference met in London, there was less excitement than at the ending of the truce. Although it was known that the ministers would put up a fight, the outcome was conceded beforehand. The executive resolution declared that the party should resume its independence and withdraw its members from the government at the dissolution of Parliament. Clynes offered an amendment that the Coalition should be preserved until peace was signed, but he was speaking to delegates fresh from contact with their constituencies and consequently reflecting an opinion quite different from that prevailing among the government group. The counter arguments of J. H. Thomas and Bernard Shaw drew rounds of applause. Clynes's amendment was lost by a vote of 1,844,000 to 891,000, whereupon the executive resolution was put and carried 2,117,000 to 810,000. The majority exceeded expectations, whereupon it was the turn of the ministerial faction to complain of the effect of the block vote in concealing minorities. The logic of the decision, nevertheless, was apparent. In the words of the parliamentary correspondent of the conservative *Times*: "It cannot be denied that the action of the Labor delegates was consistent and intelligible. Labor never exercised any influence on our politics until it obtained an independent position."[46]

For a few days the course of the Labor ministers was uncertain. All betrayed an inclination to cling to their posts, but Brace, Hodge, and Walsh soon heeded the voice of their respective unions and resigned. Clynes first sought the endorsement of his local party and his trade union to justify the retention of office, but finally came out in order to campaign for the party. The others remained, but no longer as representative of Labor, and, in fact, they ceased to be considered as members of the party. Wardle disappeared a few weeks later in the general election. Barnes, whose loss was lamented even by his I.L.P. critics, and Roberts stayed in office until after the treaty of Versailles was signed. Only James Parker remained until 1922 when the Lloyd George government broke up and the last pretense of a coalition came to an end.

In the events described in this paper the course of British Labor was consistent with its ideals. Because it was imbued with the Fabian opportunist spirit, it was able to give the country the benefit

[45] Philip Snowden in the *Labor Leader*, Nov. 7, 1918; Ramsay MacDonald in *Forward*, Nov. 9–16, 1918; Labor Correspondent in the *Times*, Nov. 15, 1918.

[46] *Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 15, 1918; *Labor Leader*, Nov. 21, 1918; *Times*, Nov. 16, 1918.

of its coöperation during the greatest crisis of history. When that need passed, it wisely avoided further association with Lloyd George, because it was learned long ago that in ordinary times England does not love coalitions. When the inevitable reaction followed and normal political life was resumed, the party stood in so strong a position that it, instead of the weakened and disunited Liberals, became the official Opposition. In more recent years Labor has twice assumed the government and, although each time in a minority in the House of Commons, there has been no move to coalesce with the Liberals who supported them, because to do so would compromise Labor principles. For such a risk there existed no compelling necessity as during the critical years of the World War.

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RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FAILURE OF THE BURGOYNE CAMPAIGN[1]

AFTER the British disaster of Saratoga, when every one involved was looking about for some one else to blame, Lord George Germain, His Majesty's secretary of state for the colonies, allowed the impression to prevail that the campaign of 1777 had been based on General Burgoyne's "Thoughts for conducting the War from the Side of Canada".[2] The general shifted the blame back to the minister. The plan had been Germain's, Burgoyne argued, because two important proposals had been "erased" from his "Thoughts" while the paper was in his Lordship's possession.[3] Yet the "proposals" made by Burgoyne were actually alternatives. After the northern army, according to his plan, had recovered Crown Point and taken Ticonderoga, its route would be determined by the plan of campaign "concerted at home". *If* Sir William Howe's whole force was to act on the Hudson, and *if* the purpose of the northern army was to form a junction with the southern army, then the route, Lake George to Albany, would be the best. *If*, however, a large part of the main British army was to act from Rhode Island, it might be better for the army from Canada to get control of the Connecticut River. There was yet another alternative. In case the force intended for Canada should not be large enough to insure reasonable success, then it might be wiser to send the whole army by sea to join Howe. Of these several routes, that by way of Lake George to Albany was the one selected in accordance with the plan of campaign "concerted at home". It may have been the wrong one, but at least the ministry did not make the mistake of trying to adopt all three as Burgoyne seemed to think it should.

Nothing in Burgoyne's "Thoughts" would indicate that the purpose of the campaign of 1777 was to hold the Champlain-Hudson line, thus separating the northern from the southern colonies. Of the route which was chosen, Burgoyne said himself that its purpose was either to join Howe or "after co.operating so far as to get

[1] For the use of the unpublished manuscript material referred to, I am greatly indebted to Mr. William L. Clements who has recently purchased the Sir Henry Clinton Papers and Lord George Germain Papers for his Library at the University of Michigan.

[2] John Burgoyne, *State of the Expedition from Canada* (London, 1780). pp. 2–3. A copy of the "Thoughts" is in the Germain Papers.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

possession of Albany, & open the communication to New York, to remain upon Hudson's river & thereby enable that General to act with his whole force to the Southward". The alternatives, by sea and by way of the Connecticut River, would only reënforce Howe or facilitate his movements.

There is a document in the king's handwriting: "Remarks on 'The Conduct of the War from Canada'",[4] containing the royal objections to the two alternatives which were rejected. This would lead one to assume that the king was responsible for the selection of the route to Albany, were it not for two other documents—not in the king's writing, entitled "Remarks on the Conduct of The War—from Canada" and "Remarks on The Requisitions & observations".[5] Here are to be found the criticisms of Burgoyne's papers which the king later made in his "Remarks", and recommendations of the decisions he reached. In regard, for instance, to the alternative that the army join Howe by sea, the king was definite: "I greatly dislike that idea". The unknown author of the other "Remarks", however, merely pointed out, as Burgoyne had done, that that route would require more troops to be left in Canada, and humbly recommended that it should be carefully considered before decided upon. It is evident throughout the king's correspondence that he made an effort to inform himself about affairs in America. It is also evident that neither his information nor his wisdom was ever greater than that of his ministers. It was probably one of his ministers, then—possibly the "noble Lord" Germain, himself—who suggested the route by way of Albany. Even so, the whole campaign seems to have been talked over thoroughly with the king, and had he disapproved of anything, it would not have been incorporated. Moreover, the ministry as a whole admitted responsibility for the plan of campaign.[6]

It was the duty of Germain, alone, however, to embody all the requisitions, observations, memoranda, thoughts, remarks, and conversations in concise, explicit orders. Diplomacy demanded that these be addressed to Sir Guy Carleton who was still commander-in-chief in Canada in spite of the fact that the entire plan—even to the distribution of the troops—had been drawn up without consulting him. Germain began his task by summarizing his letter of August

[4] E. B. De Fonblanque, *Right Hon. John Burgoyne*, pp. 486–487.

[5] *Correspondence of King George The Third* (Fortescue ed.), III. 443–445, Mar. 5, 1777. 'The Requisitions & observations' was submitted by Burgoyne under the title, "Memorandums and observations relative to the Service in Canada . . .". A copy is in the Germain Papers.

[6] G. H. Guttridge, "Lord George Germain in Office, 1775–1782", in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII. 30.

22, 1776, never received, in which he had instructed Carleton to hand over the command of the active army to Burgoyne. He then added a rebuke to Sir Guy for withdrawing his force to Canada the previous fall, charging that the retrogression, by releasing a large number of Americans, had contributed to the British defeat at Trenton. "Upon these Accounts", he concluded, "& with a View of quelling the Rebellion as Soon as possible, it is become highly necessary, that the most Speedy junction of the two Armies should be effected. . . ."[7] Upon what accounts? Is it Carleton's retreat to Canada which now makes it necessary to join the two armies? or is it Howe's defeat at Trenton? At least one thing is clear: nothing is said about the plan of holding the Champlain-Hudson line, of separating the southern from the northern colonies. By its advance, the northern army is either to engage part of the American forces to the northward so that they can not go against Howe, or to reenforce the southern army so that it can successfully oppose the entire army of the enemy—the same idea as that expressed by Burgoyne in his "Thoughts".

The order which Carleton was instructed to give Burgoyne was "to proceed with all expedition to Albany, and put himself under the Command of Sir William Howe——". The same order was to be given to Lieutenant Colonel Barry St. Leger who was to lead a much smaller expedition by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk River, to aid the advance of the northern army. An actual junction with Howe at Albany would mean that at least part of the southern force would be there, but Burgoyne could put himself under the command of Sir William Howe even though Sir William and his whole army were in Philadelphia.[8] In fact, Howe sent orders (diplomatically worded to be sure) to the northern army as early as April 5, 1777,[9] before Burgoyne had even arrived in Canada. Burgoyne, himself, in giving the purpose of the Albany route did not insist upon an actual junction. He was either to join Howe or facilitate his movements to the southward.[10] This is rather impor-

[7] Germain Papers, Mar. 26, 1777, Germain to Carleton. Burgoyne said extracts of this letter were the only instructions he received (*State of the Expedition from Canada*, p. 3).

[8] When the campaign was later before Parliament, Dundas, the Lord Advocate, said that a "junction of coöperation" was planned, not a junction of the two armies (*Parliamentary Register*, VIII. 166, Mar. 19. 1778).

[9] Germain Papers, Apr. 5, 1777, Howe to Carleton.

[10] Germain Papers, Burgoyne's "Thoughts". Burgoyne, in his letter to Germain (Oct. 20, 1777, as quoted by Germain), said that "to force a junction with Sir W. Howe, or at least a passage to Albany was the principle the Letter & the Spirit of my Orders".

tant, because, by the interpretation Sir William Howe put upon the orders, he expected Burgoyne to advance as far as Albany without his assistance.[11] Burgoyne's interpretation is less clear, for although he said, when his troubles were increasing, that he had expected co-operation, he never acted upon that idea, but upon the idea that he could reach Albany alone and unaided.

The fault, however, which Burgoyne found with his orders was not that they were ambiguous, but that they were "positive",[12] allowing him no discretionary powers. Yet the paragraph which gave him a sort of latitude was misinterpreted by him if not entirely overlooked. Carleton, according to this paragraph, was to order both Burgoyne and St. Leger to communicate with Howe, and "until they shall have received orders from Sir William Howe, it is His Majesty's Pleasure that they Act as Exigencies may require . . . , but . . . in So doing they must never lose View of their intended Junctions with Sir William Howe as their principal objects".[13]

Burgoyne was especially scornful of the term "saving clause" later applied to this paragraph by Germain. Was it not, however, a "saving clause" for Burgoyne, but for the fact that he went into the campaign with a preconceived idea of his own infallibility? Was not this his loophole if he had known how to use it? He was later to complain of his inability to communicate with Howe. Would he not have been justified then, according to his instructions, in annoying the "rebels" as he saw fit and leaving Albany for the future? In his defense[14] he argued that this paragraph was to govern his action after reaching Albany, and again, that it referred to his minor excursions only and not to his main course of action. This hardly excuses him, for the paragraph is not only perfectly clear, but perhaps the most intelligent of the whole letter. It was not undiluted intelligence, however, for Germain assumed therein that it would surely be possible to communicate with the southern army. Germain *may* have had enough map knowledge of America to know that Philadelphia is not on the route from New York to Albany, but he never showed that he was even distantly acquainted with the nature of American forests, American winds, or American "rebels". Nevertheless, Burgoyne did communicate with Howe. His first letters were actually received, but in them he wrote not to ask for instruc-

[11] Burgoyne, *op. cit.*, App. pp. xxvi–xxvii, July 17, 1777, Howe to Burgoyne.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–5. Had the plan of campaign called for a simultaneous convergence of the three armies to Albany, Burgoyne's most logical defense would seem to have been not that his own orders were positive, but that Howe's were discretionary.

[13] Germain Papers, Mar. 26, 1777, Germain to Carleton.

[14] *Parliamentary Register*, VIII. 318–319, Burgoyne's speech, May 26, 1778.

tions but to tell Howe what he was going to do.[15] His letters were answered in a bunch as might be expected from the leisurely Howe —that of May 14, received on June 28, was not answered until July 17.[16] While waiting for word from the south, Burgoyne was not harassing the enemy as exigencies required, but was proceeding with his advance to Albany, although not with the expedition demanded by his orders. He had had a splendid opportunity for informing the ministry of the reluctance with which the Canadians came in and the alacrity with which they went back home. Instead, he chose to depend upon them for the important work of transporting his provisions, artillery, and baggage. He delayed a month before asking Carleton for wagons and horses. Moreover, he followed the route by way of Skenesborough which he had admitted was inferior to that by way of Lake George. Finally, he delayed his movements until the American army had far outgrown his, and the American militia had gathered from the neighboring countryside.[17]

Meanwhile, Sir William Howe had also delayed his campaign. His first plan, by which he intended to end the war in one year, had called for an army of thirty-five thousand men. These were to be employed in two offensives, one to act on the Hudson to Albany, the other to penetrate from Rhode Island into Massachusetts. The king rather liked the idea of dealing a blow to the New Englanders, but Howe, in less than a month, had changed his mind. His main army would accordingly act, not in Rhode Island nor on the Hudson, but in Pennsylvania. Howe, being an optimist, had hearkened to the familiar Tory theme that the people (this time those of Pennsylvania) were weary of the war. Nothing, thought Howe, would increase this weariness like the capture of Philadelphia. The offensive from Rhode Island was therefore postponed so that there would be a corps to defend the lower Hudson and New Jersey, "as well as to facilitate in some degree the approach of the Army from Canada". When Howe wrote this he had already received a copy of Germain's letter to Carleton (August 22, 1776), according to which Burgoyne was to carry on operations which would contribute to the success of the southern army, and put himself under Howe's command. In making his plans for 1777, Howe was proceeding on the assumption that the northern army would follow the plan of 1776. Even in his earlier letter to Germain (November 30, 1776), he had mentioned

[15] Burgoyne, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

[16] Germain Papers, July 7, 1777, Howe to Germain; Burgoyne, *op. cit.*, App., pp. xxvi–xxvii, July 17, 1777, Howe to Burgoyne.

[17] Germain Papers, Burgoyne's "Memorandum and observations" and "Thoughts".

the junction of the two armies, prophesying that it would not occur until September, 1777, on account of the difficulties the army from Canada would encounter.[18]

The king's approval of Howe's second plan was sent on March 3, 1777, after Burgoyne submitted his "Thoughts" and before he left England. It will be remembered that in this paper the recommendation of the "Lake George to Albany" route had been made only on condition that Howe's whole force was to act on the Hudson. If the Connecticut River route was to be chosen, it was on the condition that a large part of the southern British army was to act in New England. The minister who wrote the first "Remarks" on Burgoyne's "Thoughts" must have been familiar with Howe's letter, for he said that since that general did not intend to act in Connecticut, it would be better for the northern army to join him at Albany.[19] In his letter, however, Howe had said that he did not intend to act on the Hudson either, but in Pennsylvania. It would seem then that the small force he expected to leave at New York was considered sufficient to aid the approach of the northern army. What seems more probable, however, is that Germain thought Howe would take a little week-end run down to Philadelphia, occupy it without a struggle, perhaps delay there a day or two for the mere routine of organizing the Tories into companies for the defense of the city, return to New York, sail up the Hudson with all flags flying. There would be a cheery: "Burgoyne!", "Howe!"; the war would be ended; and Germain would be a viscount. That this is no exaggeration becomes apparent when we find that in a Germain letter which Howe received as late as August 16, 1777, the minister, approving of the Philadelphia plan, expressed the hope that Howe's Pennsylvania campaign would be completed in time to coöperate with Burgoyne, who was expected by the same cheerful optimism to reach Albany before September. To Germain, the war was to be won by Tories, the army, provisioned from the country; every successful foraging raid of Howe's was a victory, and the efforts of the Americans, "Effects of Despair" and "Symptoms of Weakness".[20]

So strong must have been Germain's conviction that Howe would either return in time to coöperate with the northern army, or leave an adequate force for that purpose at New York, that he never

[18] See Howe and Germain correspondence of Nov. 30, Dec. 20, 1776, and Mar. 3, 1777, in Germain Papers.

[19] *Correspondence of King George The Third* (Fortescue ed.), III. 443–444. "Remarks on the Conduct of The War—from Canada."

[20] Germain Papers, Germain to Howe, May 18, 1777, Jan. 14, 1777 (no. 1), Apr. 19, 1777 (no. 9).

notified Burgoyne of Sir William's intentions, nor gave Howe definite orders to aid Burgoyne. In this he should be blamed less for carelessness and more for overestimation of Howe's judgment, because military men agreed that Sir William could not reasonably do anything but go to Burgoyne's aid. Several legends have sprung from Germain's failure to send positive orders to Howe. According to one, endorsed by Shelburne,[21] such orders were written at the same time as those for Burgoyne, but were delayed in sending. Another tale relates that the important dispatch was pigeonholed and not found until long after Saratoga. Both of these legends were based on the idea that the plan of campaign called for a convergence of three armies to Albany for the purpose of holding the Hudson-Champlain line. Such a plan would, of course, demand positive orders for each of the commanders. If, however, the plan of campaign merely called for an advance of the northern army for the purpose of reënforcing Howe or facilitating his movements, positive orders for coöperation from the south would not be necessary unless the northern army was incapable of holding its own. In any case, Howe should have received information as to the strength of the army from Canada and the orders which governed it. That this information was sent to him is given in yet a third version[22] of the "Lost or Delayed Dispatch". Although written from memory, the story is written this time by William Knox, under-secretary to Germain, who should have been familiar with the facts. What makes it still more plausible is the evidence substantiating it. When Germain, on his way to the country, came to the office to sign his mail, Knox reminded him that nothing had been written to tell Howe what was expected of him. D'Oyly, Knox's colleague who handled the war business, thereupon offered to write. So that Germain would lose no time waiting to sign the letter, D'Oyly said he would send it from himself, and inclose a copy of Burgoyne's orders. He did write a letter, and did inclose a copy of Burgoyne's instructions. They went in the *Somerset* which arrived at New York on May 24, 1777, and were received by Howe on June 5.[23] The letter was not entered in the office letter-book, however, and it probably consisted

[21] Lord Fitzmaurice, *Life of William Earl of Shelburne*, 2nd. ed., I. 247–248.

[22] Hist. MSS. Comm., Knox MSS., in *Reports on Various Collections*, VI. 277.

[23] Howe, *Narrative* (1780), p. 15; Germain Papers June 5, 1777, Howe to Germain: ". . . Observing by Your Lordships Dispatch to Sr. Guy Carleton, received this day by ye. Somerset under cover from Mr. D'Oyly . . ."; indorsement on retained copy of Germain to Carleton, Mar. 26, 1777: "Copy of this Letter was Sent to Sir Wm: Howe in a Letter from Mr. D'Oyly (which has not been enter'd) by the Somerset . . . which arrived at New York the 24th. May —".

of only a few inconsequential lines. Howe always denied having received any instructions, except the copy of the dispatch to Carleton. This, as has been seen, would tell him nothing that he had not already taken for granted, that the northern army was to advance to Albany and from there he would command it. It is true Howe never received instructions to go to Albany unless the hope that he could coöperate be considered "instructions". Even that reached him on August 16 when it was too late to act upon it.

It must not be supposed, however, that Sir William Howe was ignorant of the fact that a junction of the two armies was contemplated. We have seen how he referred to it himself in his first plans for 1777. Moreover, there were hints from Germain to inform him, even though no definite communication had been sent. In his letter of April 19, 1777, the minister said that the Hanau chasseurs, mentioned in a former letter (March 3, 1777) as intended for Howe's army, were to make part of the Mohawk River detachment which was to join the southern army at Albany. In the next paragraph, he assured Howe that the brigadiers with the army in Canada would hold that rank only until that army joined his. Hints, however, made no impression on Howe, for as early as April 5, 1777, finding that the reënforcements from England would in no way approach his requisition, and that his own campaign had already been so delayed that he could not take Philadelphia in time to return for coöperation with the northern army, he had written to Carleton,[24] informing him that he must not expect a coöperating corps up the Hudson in the beginning of the campaign. The army, he continued, which was to advance beyond the borders of Canada must therefore carry on operations considered most conducive to the success of His Majesty's arms.

After this letter, Howe felt free to proceed with his favorite project, the capture of Philadelphia. There is one point which seems never to have been considered. Even if Howe had received instructions to act on the Hudson, it is doubtful whether he would have followed them. Although Germain has been justly blamed for trying to run the war from London instead of letting the generals on the spot run it, he gave Howe a freedom which was checked only by the paucity of troops he sent him. Even when Germain did send what might be considered an order, he worded it so that it came more as a polite request than a command. And Howe, who was "in fashion" at home, did not hesitate to reply politely that the request could not be fulfilled, as when he put off altogether the king's

[24] Germain Papers, Apr. 5, 1777, Howe to Carleton. A copy was inclosed in Howe to Germain, Apr. 2, 1777.

favorite project of a diversion to the coasts of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. One can imagine his replying just as politely to an order for an advance up the Hudson, that the smallness of his force would not permit him to leave a large enough corps at New York for that purpose, or that the delay occasioned by his move into the Jerseys would prevent his returning from Philadelphia in time to make the advance himself. In fact, when Howe did receive Germain's letter of May 18, 1777, expressing the royal desire that he finish the southern expedition in time to coöperate with Burgoyne, he simply replied that he could not obey, since he had found "rebels" instead of "friends".[25]

As we know, Howe at last decided to invade Pennsylvania by sea. The day that he embarked his men (July 5, 1777), Sir Henry Clinton, his second in command, arrived from England. During the eighteen days which elapsed before the winds finally permitted Howe to sail, the two generals had several confidential conversations. Following a suggestion from his friend, Major General Phillips, that he put everything he did or said into writing, Clinton wrote these up as he remembered them, apparently soon after the conversations took place.[26] The reports do not omit even his guesses which turned out to have been wrong nor include mention of subsequent events which proved he had been right. There is merely the remembered conversation, but from it emerges a view of the relations of the two generals which would never be revealed by a formal dispatch. They had never "agreed in any one thing". At Bunker Hill, Howe, who admitted he sometimes lost control of himself when in action, had used sharp words to Clinton, for which he had apologized. At Frog's Neck, Sir Henry, landing upon some "tweedledum" business with no enemy near, had been mortified by contradictory orders through Howe's aide, only to find when the commander-in-chief came up that he had been doing just what Howe would have wanted him to do before any orders had been received. There had been discord, too, when Sir Henry led the rear at the Bronx. Moreover, before the "Hessian misfortune" at Trenton, Clinton had expressed, to only a few friends of course, his disapproval of Howe's extended front. Finally, after Sir Henry's campaign in Rhode Island, Howe had written to Lord Percy that since Providence had been reported unprotected, he wished Clinton had taken it as well as Newport.

[25] *Ibid.*, Howe to Germain, June 3, Aug. 30 (no. 13), 1777.

[26] Clinton Papers, Phillips to Clinton, Sept. 14 and Oct. 4, 1775. Clinton's reports of his conversations with Howe, July 6, 8, 9, 11, and 13, 1777. At the end of July 8 is this note: "the above is not wrote as it follow[ed] but as parts of our Convern at different times. . . ."

This, to Clinton, was an insinuation that he lacked zeal, and being a recent grievance, it was brought up again and again. Howe assured him of course that he had had no such insinuation in mind, but Sir Henry was not appeased. Could he be sure that he would not be similarly treated after the present campaign?

Howe, also, had cause for complaint. Lord Cornwallis had tattled what Clinton had once said, in a "peevish Mood", about preferring the independent command of three companies to his position under Howe. In fact, the two agreed on only one thing, that they could never live in harmony, even though Howe admired Clinton as an "officer & a man" and Sir Henry respected Howe. This, from Clinton, at least, was pure diplomacy; he did not esteem Howe; as a man, he found him illiberal, and as a general equalled by others, notably himself.[27]

Clinton's arguments with Howe followed a friend's advice to "avoid *jarring*" his chief, to "*gulp* and *swallow*".[28] The same advice would have applied to Sir Henry's relations with practically every one he served with. Almost every incident of the war in which he participated was followed by long letters in which slights were stated, explained, restated, reëxplained. It took an entire volume to give Clinton's conduct during the Yorktown campaign an aspect pleasing to himself. After the war, his secretary was sent to the historian, Soule, to see that certain of Clinton's campaigns were presented in the proper light, and to Andrews to point out errors and instances of partiality. Furthermore, his own history of the war was written, it seems, so that there would be at least one account which would do Clinton justice. In his defense it must be said that until he assumed the chief command, he was in that extremely trying position of a subaltern who is more intelligent and conscientious than his chief.[29]

Had the two generals agreed as to Howe's intended expedition to Philadelphia, their agreement would have been unprecedented. In Clinton's opinion, the best move Howe could make would be to advance up the North River and form a junction with Burgoyne,

[27] Clinton Papers, Jan. 18, 1778, Clinton to Gen. Carpenter; Clinton's memorandum in his private cipher, no date.

[28] *Ibid.*, Apr. 3, 1776, Wm. Phillips to Clinton.

[29] Clinton, *Narrative . . . relative to his conduct . . . particularly to that which respects the unfortunate issue of the campaign in 1781 . . . and Observations on some parts of the answer of Earl Cornwallis* . . . Originally two pamphlets. John Smith to Clinton, Sept. 23, Oct. 4, 7, 19, Dec. 8, 1785, in the Clinton Papers. An unpublished manuscript in 2 vols. in the Clinton Papers, entitled, "An Historical Detail of Seven Years Campaigns In North America From 1775 to 1782".

since this seemed to be the ministerial plan of campaign. Then, he might finish by taking Philadelphia. Howe admitted thinking this the best plan at first, but the report of the number of Tories in Pennsylvania had convinced him that the southern move would be better. Although Sir Henry agreed that there might be "friends" in Pennsylvania, he reminded Howe that he had expected them in New Jersey and had been disappointed. Clinton also reminded Howe of the unfavorable winds and the sickness prevalent in the more southern climates in summer. He pointed out that Howe would have to maintain a defensive in two places (New York and Rhode Island) in order to carry on his offensive in a third. Sir Henry repeated his arguments "more than was agreeable" and finally thought he was heeded. But Howe only changed his defense, and advanced an argument which even Clinton could not refute: the southern move seemed to have been approved at home.[30]

In short, Howe was impervious to all reasoning against the expedition to Philadelphia. There is a story that Charles Lee gave Howe the idea. If so, Lee lost no time. The reputed traitor was captured by the British on December 13 (1776). On the twentieth, Howe wrote home proposing the Philadelphia campaign. It is more likely that Lee only confirmed Howe's intelligence and furnished him with the argument that Philadelphia was the "rebel capital", a point Howe had not made before. Although the official reasons for the southern move which Howe gave in his *Narrative* [31] are the kind which are thought of long after the event, two of them are illuminating. Even if Albany had been reached, Howe argued, it would have been too late to take Philadelphia. Here we see that his fixed idea had not been shaken even after he had discovered how few "friends" there were, and how strategically unimportant Philadelphia proved to be. He had enough sense to see, on the other hand, that if he took Philadelphia, it would probably be too late to reach Albany, but lacked the wisdom to warn Clinton not to expect reënforcements from him. His other reason shows that he, like Germain, underestimated the Americans. Would he not have been blamed, he argued, for taking the main army up the Hudson to do what Burgoyne could have done alone, provided Washington's main army was drawn to the southward. This was in keeping with his letter to Germain, sent just before the expedition sailed, in which he said that even if Washington's army should go against Burgoyne, he saw no reason for dread, since the northern army was strong

[30] For this paragraph: Clinton Papers, Clinton's report of his conversation with Howe, July 8, 1777; see also: Clinton's history, *op. cit.*, I. 77.

[31] Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 19 ff.

enough to handle the situation. Howe was apparently sincere in this, for when reports began to filter through that the northern army had been defeated, he faithfully sent them home with the cheerful assurance that since they were "rebel" reports they must be "totally false".[32]

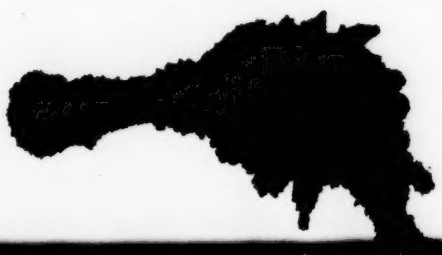
Seeing that the commander-in-chief was determined to go to Pennsylvania, Clinton then tried to persuade him to leave an adequate force at New York. To Clinton, it was the most important post in America, and would most certainly be attacked by Washington if he were not a "blockhead". Clinton even went so far as to say that if the Americans did capture the city, it would end the war. He tried to represent his situation if attacked by all of Washington's army while Howe was at sea. The latter would be unable to get intelligence from Sir Henry, and practically helpless to bring together his fleet and return in time to save New York. Howe reluctantly consented to increase Clinton's force by the addition of "three thin Battalions", and to leave the fourth brigade on condition that Sir Henry send it to him as soon as he heard Howe had landed. He promised also to send him reënforcements as soon as possible from Pennsylvania. Even the pessimistic Clinton thought that this would be soon. He prophesied that the Americans would not risk a battle to hold Philadelphia, but part of them would retire to the mountains beyond Germantown, and part, across the Susquehanna where they could not be pursued.[33]

On this the two generals seemed to agree, but again found their opinions clashing when the forts in the Highlands were mentioned. Clinton was convinced that opening the Hudson was a task for the entire main army. The forts were of such importance, he contended, that the Americans would defend them with their whole force, and the Hudson, a narrow river between mountains, would have in eighteen miles twenty positions to be carried. Howe thought a few battalions could carry them. Finally Beverly Robinson was consulted, and agreed more or less with Sir Henry. For when Clinton asked Howe whether he should not wait before attempting to open the Hudson until he heard where the main army had landed and whither Washington had gone, Howe admitted it would be "madness" to think of it sooner.

Meanwhile, Burgoyne had advanced on the "high Road to Glory" as far as Ticonderoga. His gay letter announcing the evacuation of the fort was forwarded by Clinton to Howe on the

[32] Germain Papers, July 16, Oct. 21 and 22, 1777, Howe to Germain.

[33] Clinton Papers, Clinton's report of his conversation with Howe, July 13, 1777.



21st of July, and received before the expedition sailed.[34] If Burgoyne continued to advance at his present rate, he would no doubt get to Albany before reënforcements could be sent back from Philadelphia. Moreover, at Albany he would be separated from New York by about one hundred and thirty miles of enemy territory. On the other hand, if Burgoyne was continuing to advance after Howe's warning that he would receive no coöperation, and if he was advancing with such success, then he must be able to take care of himself. If Sir William thought at all about the situation of the northern army, he must have reached the latter conclusion. Since none of the arguments, therefore, had been strong enough to turn Howe's mind from its single track, he sailed for the southward on July 23, leaving Sir Henry Clinton in New York with what that general called "a D——d starved deffencive".[35]

The southern move was so illogical that even from Howe it was unbelievable. Clinton could not believe he had gone to the southward until he heard from him off the mouth of Delaware River. Sir Henry had even gone so far as to say to Howe as he was leaving that *"tho' he was pleased to say he was going to Sea with the present Northerly Wind"*, Clinton would expect *"to see him return with the first Southerly Blast and run up the North River"*.[36] Howe was so far from going up the North River, however, that he had not even mentioned the northern army in Clinton's instructions. He had given him permission to make an offensive move if any should seem possible without endangering New York, but he had not indicated the direction the offensive should take. Not until July 30, when at sea, did he send a "hint" concerning Burgoyne.[37] Although unable to tell when reënforcements could be sent back to New York, he pointed out to Clinton the utility of a diversion in favor of the northern army. After the Burgoyne campaign had failed, and Clinton was endeavoring to give the impression that he had been left entirely on the defensive, he insinuated that Howe's hint must have been prompted by Germain's letter of May 18, desiring Sir William to return in time to coöperate with the northern army. In other words, Clinton intimated that Howe had received the minister's letter before July 30, when he might have had time to bring together his

[34] Clinton Papers, Clinton's history, I. 79, and "Extracts from Sir H. Clintons Correspondence with Sir W. H. when left by him in Command at New York in 1777——".

[35] Clinton Papers, Note at end of Clinton's report of his conversation with Howe, July 13, 1777.

[36] Clinton Papers, Clinton's history, I. 79, 80.

[37] Clinton Papers, July 9, 1777, indorsed "Instructions", and July 15, 1777, Howe to Clinton.

fleet and return to aid Burgoyne. Howe had asserted, however, that he did not receive Germain's letter until August 16, when it was presumably too late to return. Clinton thereupon concluded that it must have occurred to Howe that he had said nothing of Burgoyne, and thought it wise to have something in writing concerning the northern army. Clinton may have been right. At least Howe had a good defense. He had received no orders to coöperate with the northern army. He had warned Burgoyne not to expect aid from the southward. His move to Philadelphia had been approved by the king. Finally, he had advised Clinton to make a move in favor of Burgoyne. For the most serious charge against him, however, he had no defense. He rejected a move which the better officers, both British and American, considered the only reasonable one. He preferred a plan of campaign which gained the British nothing, and which resulted in losing them an army, to a plan which might have won the war for them and was almost certain to have saved Burgoyne's troops.

In Howe's first ambitious plan he had asked for 5000 men to defend New York City and 10,000 to act on the Hudson. When he had changed his offensive so that Pennsylvania was his main objective, he had allowed 4000 for the defense of the city and 3000 "to facilitate in some degree the approach of the Army from Canada". When he left Clinton 7,367 rank and file, therefore, he felt that it was enough, even though approximately two-thirds of the force were provincials and Hessians. Howe, himself, who had asked for 11,000 men to oppose an army which according to his own estimation would be less than that number, sailed away with 13,000 troops, all regulars.[38] Sir William had promised to leave Clinton also the fourth brigade, as security until he had landed, but when, on July 18, he had received intelligence that Washington intended to follow him, he changed his mind, much to Clinton's concern, and took the fourth brigade with him. Before sailing Howe had expressed regrets that he was forced to leave Sir Henry on the defensive. Moreover, his instructions to Clinton, although permitting him to act on the offensive, laid most emphasis on the necessity of defending New York.[39] Howe's afterthought, then, of July 30, sug-

[38] Germain Papers, Nov. 30, Dec. 20, 1776, Howe to Germain. July 7, 1777, Distribution of the troops under Clinton. Howe gave the force at New York as 8005 (*Narrative*, p. 23) but Clinton said this included men in public employ, recruiting, and prisoners with the enemy (history, I. 78); also, "Distribution of . . . Troops . . . for the Campaign 1777", inclosed in Howe to Germain, Apr. 2, 1777. "Abstract of Precis 1777 and 1778"; Kemble *Papers*, I. 125, Kemble Journal, July 18, 1777.

[39] Clinton Papers, July 9, 18, 1777, Howe to Clinton; Conversation with Howe, July 6, 1777.

gesting a definite move in favor of Burgoyne, should have been accompanied, it would seem, by enough additional troops to have allowed Clinton to act on the suggestion. Some one in the colonial office—possibly Germain himself—argued, after Burgoyne's expedition had failed, that if Howe had taken with him only the troops he had first requested—11,000 instead of 13,000—and had left the remainder at New York, Clinton might have acted in time to save the northern army.[40]

Sir Henry Clinton was in fact left with only a "starved" defensive. His small force, combined with his idea of the importance of New York City, and his characteristic caution left him nothing to do but await reënforcements—a pastime to which he devoted most of his days in America. Reports which got through from Canada were all cheerful, but for the most part there was a "wonderful Silence".

Burgoyne had met with difficulties in transporting provisions and artillery, but until mid-August had encountered no serious check, and felt confident as late as August 6 of reaching Albany by the 22d or 23d.[41] Although the northern army seemed to be in no need of coöperation, Clinton wrote about August 10, informing Burgoyne of Howe's expedition and promising a diversion, if possible, in favor of the northern army.[42] Although only good news was received from Burgoyne in the month which followed, rumors must have reached New York of the Bennington disaster. Clinton wrote again on September 10, offering to make an attempt in about ten days on the forts in the Highlands. Reënforcements from England were expected, and Sir Henry thought he could spare about 2000 men for the move. He ended by asking for an expression of Burgoyne's wishes. On September 26 the long-awaited reënforcement arrived—about 1700 fit for duty.[43] Although more than ten days had elapsed since he had made his offer to attempt the forts, Clinton hesitated. He had not as yet heard from Burgoyne and had received only indirect reports of the whereabouts of Howe and Washington. On the 27th, he wrote to Sir William, notifying him that he would attempt Fort Montgomery by the end of the next week if he had not by that time received orders to the contrary. Two days later (September 29), he received an answer from Burgoyne to his

40 Germain Papers, "Abstract of Precis 1777 and 1778".

41 Clinton Papers, Aug. 6, 1777, Burgoyne to Howe.

42 Clinton Papers, masked letter, evidently never received.

43 Clinton Papers, masked letter, no date. Clinton refers to this at different times as his letter of the 10th, 11th, 12th of Sept. As he made no definite promise but simply asked for Burgoyne's wishes, he would have no reason, it seems, for stretching the date. *Ibid.* Clinton's history, I. 86.

offer of September 10, urging an immediate attack or even the menace of an attack on the forts in the Highlands.[44] On October 3, Tryon's corps, part of Clinton's expedition, sailed to Tarrytown. The next day Clinton's force marched to meet Tryon, and at one that night the whole sailed. On the 5th, Captain Campbell got through to Sir Henry with a message from Burgoyne which was so gloomy that it had not been trusted to paper.[45] The northern army was in a desperate situation: 5000 men were opposed by 12 or 14,000, only enough provisions to last until October 20, communications with Canada cut off. Burgoyne asked for Clinton's orders as to whether he should advance or retire to the Lakes, saying he would retreat if he did not hear from him before the 12th. Burgoyne, caught in a trap, was already thinking up excuses. He would not have given up his communications, he said, had he not expected an army to join him at Albany. Clinton replied with caution that he could not advise Burgoyne, since the commander-in-chief had given him no instructions concerning the northern army except that he wanted it to get to Albany. On October 6, forts Montgomery and Clinton were taken by Sir Henry, and on the 8th, Tryon found Fort Constitution evacuated. On this day, a letter announcing the victory was sent northward to Burgoyne.[46] This day was important for yet another event. Tryon, who had been let into Clinton's confidence as to the straits of Burgoyne's army, and who reasoned that the security of New York City was perhaps not more important than the safety of the northern army, made bold to suggest a plan for pushing on to Albany.[47] Burgoyne was to be notified of the move so that he could advance, on his part, or, in case he had already retired, so that he might come forward again to meet Clinton, should Clinton be successful. Howe, too, was to be notified so that he might send back reënforcements to New York in case he considered it too weak, or even send troops up the river to help Clinton. About the time of this pressure from Tryon, news came from Rhode Island that Pigot, the commander there, could spare 1000 men. In his history of the war, Clinton, without mentioning Tryon's plan, said this promised reënforcement decided him that something more might be done for Burgoyne.[48] On October 9, Captain Scott got

[44] *Ibid.*, Clinton to Howe, Sept. 27, 1777; Burgoyne to Clinton, Sept. 21, 1777. Another answer dated Oct. 23 was received later.

[45] *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1777, Burgoyne to Clinton, merely introduced Campbell.

[46] Clinton Papers, "Copies of Letters & Messages &c. which passed between . . . Clinton & . . . Burgoyne between the 10th. of September and the 23d. of October, 1777"; Oct. 8, 1777, Clinton to Burgoyne, the "Nous y voici", sometimes "voila", letter, intercepted by Gov. Geo. Clinton.

[47] Clinton Papers, Oct. 8, 1777, Tryon to Clinton.

[48] Clinton Papers, Clinton's history, I. 94.

through from Burgoyne, and by mere repetition made the situation of the northern army seem even more desperate.

On October 15, the day after Major Kingston had been sent from Burgoyne to Gates to propose a cessation of arms, Major General Vaughan with about 1700 men was detached from Clinton's army, with instructions to feel for Burgoyne, receive his orders, and inform Clinton whether he could communicate with the northern army and get provisions to Albany.[49]

Meanwhile, Howe had made his last mistake in regard to the northern army. Knowing that Clinton intended making a diversion in favor of Burgoyne, and not knowing that Burgoyne's situation was hopeless, Howe actually ordered Clinton to send him three British regiments, the 17th Dragoons, and two battalions of Anspachs —about 4000 men in all. These were to be sent as soon as transports could be made ready, unless perchance Sir Henry was on the eve of an offensive which could be completed within a few days after receipt of Howe's letters.[50]

Reports from Vaughan's expedition indicated that the little detachment would probably not be able to give Burgoyne direct assistance within the specified "few days". On October 22, therefore, Clinton ordered Vaughan to return to New York.[51] When the orders were complied with, Putnam with 5000 men was posted on Vaughan's right, and George Clinton with about 1500, on his left. Moreover, accounts from Burgoyne showed it to be "impracticable" to assist him further.

If Clinton's expedition is considered separately, and not as part of the general scheme, it was remarkably successful. This success he modestly and honestly attributed to Fortune. It had been "*a desperate attempt on a desperate occasion*".[52] Had he attacked the forts six days sooner or six hours later, he said, he might not have carried them. About six days sooner, Putnam had detached MacDougall with about 2000 men from the forts to reënforce Washington. Six hours later, Colonel McGlaghry, ordered by Governor Clinton to augment the weakened garrison by militia, might have had half his men in the forts, the other half, ready to enter at a moment's notice.[53] Sir Henry's success, therefore, did not disprove

[49] Clinton Papers, Clinton's "Journal of the Expedition up the North River &c &c", not kept from day to day, but written afterward.

[50] Clinton Papers, Clinton to Howe, Sept. 27, Oct. 1, 1777; Howe to Clinton, Oct. 8, 9, 1777.

[51] *Ibid.*, Clinton to Vaughan; Oct. 26, 1777, Vaughan to Clinton.

[52] *Ibid.*, Dec. 16, 1777, Clinton to Burgoyne; Oct. 14, 1777, Clinton to friends.

[53] *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1777, Geo. Clinton to McGlaghry, taken among the Governor's papers after the capture of the forts. (Clinton to friends, Oct. 13, 1777). The letter containing the information about MacDougall was also found after the

his former contention that the task of opening the Hudson was extremely difficult. The ease with which he carried the forts, however, naturally brought up the question as to why he had not made his move in time to save the northern army. As though anticipating this, Clinton sent long explanatory letters to friends in England, and kept his secretary busy copying his correspondence with Burgoyne and Howe. Sir Henry's defense, however, was not thought up after the catastrophe, but was for the most part a reiteration of the points he had already stressed—the importance of New York City, the inadequacy of his force, his defensive position.

Let us examine the reasons for his delay. Until September 24 or 26 he was awaiting the reënforcements. Until September 29, he evidently saw no need for haste as he was still ignorant of Burgoyne's serious situation. At the first intimation that his friend needed help, he decided "to risk every thing to serve him". His ardor was checked, however, by the tides, and the "Blunders of the Honble. board" held him a day longer waiting for three-pounders.[54] These were all valid excuses in the eighteenth century. Besides, eight days does not seem an unreasonably long period for the task of disembarking the recruits from England, redistributing the troops for the defense of New York, and preparing for the move up the river. At any rate, criticism gradually swung around until, in time, most of the blame for Clinton's delay was put on Howe for not leaving an adequate force at New York, or on Germain for not sending the reënforcements earlier. From the first, Burgoyne freed Clinton from all guilt,[55] and the minister who rejoiced in August (1777) that Howe had left Clinton with a "strong force", regretted when the campaign was over that Sir Henry was "not earlier in a Condition to undertake an Enterprize, the Success of which must have been of the most signal Advantage to General Burgoyne's Operations".[56]

Clinton's success, however, availed him as little as Howe's capture of Philadelphia availed him. All he contributed was to keep Burgoyne from retreating when he should have retreated, and to gain for him better terms in a Convention which was never kept.

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capture. Washington to Putnam, Sept. 23, 1777 (Sparks ed. V. 72–73) seems to indicate that MacDougall had already been ordered to join Washington. As to the militia, Sir Henry did not know the difficulty Gov. Clinton was having in getting the men into the forts (Clinton to Washington, Oct. 9, 1777, Dawson's *Battles*, I. 342–344).

[54] Clinton Papers, Oct. 14, 1777, Clinton to friends; Oct. 1, 1777, Clinton to Howe; Oct. 2, 1777, Clinton to Hotham.

[55] *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 25, 1777, Burgoyne to Clinton.

[56] Germain Papers, Aug. 29, Germain to Gen. Irwin; Dec. 11 (no. 22), Germain to Howe.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

The Fame of Sir Edward Stafford

Professor Neale's article under this title which is printed in the *English Historical Review* for April, 1929 (XLIV. 203 ff.), is in answer to my article bearing the same title in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1915 (XX. 292 ff.). My article presents the facts indicating treacherous behavior by Sir Edward Stafford when he was English ambassador in France, 1583–1590. It deals in the main with Stafford's relations with the Spanish ambassador at Paris, Bernardino de Mendoza. Professor Neale, in his usual scholarly and courteous fashion, calls my conclusions into question and undertakes to vindicate Stafford.

We are agreed upon this, or seem to be, that the late Martin A. S. Hume was right in identifying the man variously referred to in Mendoza's dispatches as "new friend", "new confidant", and "Julio" with Sir Edward Stafford. In the great majority of cases there does not indeed appear to be any reasonable doubt about the matter, notwithstanding Professor Pollard's opinion to the contrary. This in itself is a long step forward, for on the testimony of Mendoza the case against Stafford largely rests. All that the English sources of information show is that Sir Francis Walsingham distrusted Stafford and that two of Walsingham's spies, one a notorious villain, made reports unfavorable to Stafford's honesty. But their testimony goes no further than to charge him with revealing valuable information to English Catholic refugees in France and to the duke of Guise. It gives no details, makes no mention of the Spanish ambassador, and can be explained away as Stafford himself and Professor Neale after him have explained it away on the ground that Stafford was pretending to give information in order to elicit information in return. We do not know what kind of information he was actually giving, so we can not judge of its significance.[1]

But we do know what he was telling the Spanish ambassador. Whether his intentions were honest or otherwise, it is pretty clear that he was telling what he told at his own initiative and on his own responsibility. Professor Neale seems disposed to doubt this,[2] but can produce no convincing evidence to justify his doubt. Indeed it appears from one of Stafford's letters to Burghley that Stafford not

[1] *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX. 299–301.

[2] *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV. 214–215.

only kept his dealings in that quarter very dark, but even went so far as to maintain that his secret practices were his own affair so long as he produced results.[3] It may be remarked in passing that his surviving dispatches reveal very little in the way of what he would have called results. Mendoza's correspondence discloses a far greater knowledge of English affairs elicited from Stafford than Stafford's does of Spanish affairs elicited from Mendoza. Mendoza was after all much the more experienced man of the two. He had been Spanish ambassador to England before he was sent to Paris, and was currently regarded as one of the ablest diplomatists of his times.

With these facts in mind, let us turn to examine again the evidence in the case as set forth in Martin Hume's rather imperfect rendering of the Spanish dispatches. The first item of importance has to do with Drake's expedition to Cadiz in the spring of 1587. On January 14, 1587,[4] Mendoza reported that Stafford had told him of a plan afoot in England to assist Don Antonio to organize a fleet against Spain.[5] Professor Neale suggests that the news must have been false since there is no evidence that such a plan was contemplated at that time.[6] But we do know that a naval expedition against the Spanish coast had been under consideration ever since the previous autumn;[7] and surely the probabilities are strong that in its early stages some such subsidizing of Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender, was considered. Professor Neale maintains that Sir Julian Corbett had no suspicion of it when he was working over those years. But Sir Julian states very clearly that at the turn of the year 1586–1587 "Drake was kept at home in constant communication with Don Antonio to threaten an expedition to Portugal, the Azores or the East Indies".[8] It will hardly be necessary to recall that in the summer of 1581 something like £20,000 had been advanced to Don Antonio by the queen and others to organize an expedition under Drake's command against the Azores.[9] So that Stafford's report to Mendoza, even if it cannot be proved to be accurate, is certainly plausible and certainly not inconsistent with Corbett's view of the general situation. Nor does it seem to me particularly absurd that Stafford should have told Mendoza that the queen had revealed her

[3] *Ibid.*, XLIV. 213.

[4] To avoid confusion all dates are given in the old style, though, of course, the Spanish dispatches are actually dated in the new style. The date of the year is given always as the calendar year, not as the English official year.

[5] *Spanish Cal., Eliz.*, IV. 8.

[6] *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV. 205.

[7] Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, II. 61–65.

[8] *Ibid.*, II. 61.

[9] *Ibid.*, I. 325 ff.

plans regarding Drake to none but Burghley and Walsingham.[10] In any case, whether it be accounted absurd or not, it is hardly relevant to the main point at issue. Neither is it particularly pertinent to inquire whether Stafford knew that Drake was going to Cadiz or elsewhere.[11] Nor does the fact that Drake sailed for Plymouth on the second of April and that Mendoza had news of the sailing from Stafford at least by the ninth of the month seem to me a proof of Stafford's innocence.[12] Seven days was not over long for news to get from Plymouth to Paris, particularly if every effort was being made to conceal the news. Walsingham did not inform Stafford of Drake's departure until April 21.[13] The essential points are that Stafford had informed the Spanish ambassador that a naval expedition was projected against the Spanish coast nearly three months before it set forth and that within a week of Drake's departure and over a week before he began operations on the Spanish coast, Stafford had given Mendoza pretty precise information as to Drake's plans and had even, by what we must consider a lucky guess, indicated Cadiz as his probable point of attack. Professor Neale, dwelling upon inaccuracies in detail, may regard this as all very innocuous and all very innocent; but we wonder what Queen Elizabeth would have thought about it, had she intercepted Mendoza's dispatches.

Professor Neale points out that Stafford told Mendoza that the English did not expect the Spanish plate fleet from the Indies that spring, whereas Drake's instructions clearly show that it was expected and he believes that Stafford was purposely misleading the Spaniard.[14] This may be so, though it is to be noted that the information did not get to Mendoza before May 10 when Drake had been at sea for over a month. If Stafford had been eager to mislead the Spaniards, it may be conjectured that he would have set about it considerably earlier. Not much could be accomplished for good by passing on false information about Drake as late as May 10, nothing like so much as might have been accomplished for evil by giving forewarning of his preparations in January.

Proceeding further, it is surely worthy of remark, though Professor Neale omits to mention it, that on December 23, 1587, Drake received orders to sail for the Spanish coast once again [15] and that not later than January 6 Stafford had so informed Mendoza; [16] that when

[10] *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV. 205.
[11] *Ibid.*, XLIV. 201.
[12] *Ibid.*, XLIV. 205.
[13] *Foreign Cal., Eliz.*, XXI., pt. 1, p. 279.
[14] *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV. 205.
[15] Corbett, *op. cit.*, II. 119.
[16] *Spanish Cal., Eliz.*, IV. 193–194.

Drake was later detained. Mendoza was similarly advised;[17] and that when in March, 1588, it was once more decided to send him, Stafford once more obliged.[18] It is true as Professor Neale points out that Drake did not get his definite instructions until March 15 and that Stafford had notified Mendoza of his approaching dispatch at least ten days earlier than that.[19] But there is no good reason to suppose that Drake was not making preparations before he got his written instructions. All that Stafford told Mendoza was that Drake was being hurried off, but that the news of Santa Cruz's death might prevent his departure. And that information was substantially correct.

When naval preparations in England to meet the Spanish Armada were virtually completed, Stafford advised Mendoza that Howard and Drake had sailed for Plymouth on May 30, 1588, with 160 sail and about 8000 men.[20] Professor Neale agrees that the date is accurate, but quotes Corbett's estimate as 100 sail and 10,000 men. What Corbett actually said was "not fewer than 100 sail" and "something like 10,000 men".[21] Even Corbett with all the documents before him could not speak with any degree of positiveness; and Stafford was certainly not in a position to give a very accurate estimate. His inaccuracy, if it can be accounted an inaccuracy, can not in itself be construed as an intention to mislead.

Howard's purpose when he led the English fleet for Plymouth was to make for Spanish waters. But Elizabeth had oscillated for some months between that plan and a purely defensive one;[22] and on June 9 after he had been driven back to Plymouth by adverse winds, she ordered him to hold a defensive position.[23] Stafford told Mendoza, on the basis apparently of letters dispatched from England on June 8,[24] that Howard's orders were not to sail for Spain. Professor Neale argues that, since Howard's instructions had not yet been changed on June 8, this was a deliberate misrepresentation. But we have, of course, no way of proving that Stafford knew at any time what the real objective of the English fleet was. We do not even know how he came by the information he retailed to Mendoza. There are no indications that either Walsingham or Burghley were keeping him posted; and it is hardly likely that even if they had

[17] *Ibid.*, IV. 197, 213.
[18] *Ibid.*, IV. 230.
[19] *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV. 206, n. 1.
[20] *Spanish Cal., Eliz.*, IV., 319.
[21] Corbett, *op. cit.*, II. 150.
[22] Read, *Walsingham*, III. 298–305.
[23] Laughton (ed.), *Armada Papers* (Navy Records Soc.), II. 192.
[24] *Spanish Cal., Eliz.*, IV. 319.

trusted him absolutely they would have taken the risk of committing such highly confidential information to the carriers since it had no immediate bearing upon his duties in France. If, as we must conclude, Stafford simply passed on current gossip from private correspondents, he may well have been advised even before June 9 that the English fleet was to maintain a defensive position. That appears to have been the policy favored by his friends at court and they may have entertained the opinion that that was the policy to be followed. All this, of course, is mere conjecture. What is apparent is that Stafford did inform Mendoza of the exact date of departure of the English fleet and gave him at least a rough approximation of its strength. Mendoza for his part wrote as late as July 14, 1588, that he was satisfied that Stafford was doing his best to supply accurate information.[25] And Mendoza, who had been watching Stafford closely for a year and a half, was very far from being a gullible fool.

There are two complicating factors in the whole affair to which Professor Neale seems to have given insufficient attention. One is that Walsingham, who as principal secretary maintained the official correspondence with Stafford, distrusted him and sent him very little important news of any sort. It is conceivable that what news Walsingham did send was intentionally inaccurate. He was quite clever enough to mislead the enemy by dispensing misleading information to one whom he strongly suspected of being the enemy's tool. The other fact is that Elizabeth's own naval plans were so uncertain and changed so often that no one so far away from court as Stafford was could possibly have known them with any degree of accuracy. Professor Neale rather rashly assumes that whenever Stafford's advices to Mendoza can be proved to be wrong, they must have been intentionally and maliciously wrong. But it may well be questioned whether, even if Stafford's treasonable intentions were undoubted, he could have come much closer to the mark in the matter of naval plans and movements than he did. Nor need we conclude that because he did not betray all that he knew, he therefore betrayed nothing. To be guilty of treacherous conduct is not quite the same as being a traitor. Besides that, Stafford, if he was guilty, was certainly shrewd enough to realize that he must be wary about disclosing information which might easily be brought home to him. For that reason, if for none other, we should not expect to find him telling Mendoza very much about his dealings with the French court or with the Huguenots; and he apparently did not.

Professor Neale has presented some very interesting data designed to show that Stafford was a very tricky fellow and invites us

[25] *Ibid.*, IV. 352.

to conclude that if he was tricky in other ways he was probably tricking the Spanish ambassador. But surely it may be argued with equal force that if he were indeed playing false to his sovereign and his country, the course which he followed was the obvious one for him to take under the circumstances. Most of Walsingham's own spies played exactly the same sort of game.

One point more. I accused Stafford of misappropriating public funds. The facts in the case appear to be that Stafford had in his hands in September, 1587, some 15,000 or 20,000 crowns sent to him for the purpose of winning the support of the Count of Soissons to the party of Henry of Navarre. The money had not been paid over and it is pretty clear that Stafford had spent it for his own purposes without authorization. We have this on Mendoza's testimony who wrote to Phillip II. that he had it from Julio (Stafford) himself. A rather ambiguous letter on the subject from Stafford to Burghley goes far to confirm Mendoza's tale.[26] Professor Neale does not deny the facts, but he nevertheless thinks it "astonishing" that on the basis of them I should have charged Stafford with the misappropriation of public funds. He argues that since Elizabeth, Burghley, and Walsingham all knew Stafford had the money, and since the queen sometimes helped her servants by allowing them to be in her debt, that therefore he must have been innocent. I cannot see that either of these points is quite relevant. Nobody questions that the queen and her two closest counsellors knew that Stafford had the money. It was perfectly proper under the circumstances that he should have it. But he was supposed to be holding it ready for application to a specific public purpose. He was certainly not supposed to be spending it upon his private needs. Elizabeth may have allowed her servants to be in her debt but she never allowed this particular debt, and it is evident from Stafford's letter to Burghley, cited above, that he wanted to keep the whole transaction concealed from her until he could make restitution, or as he put it, "find means to content everybody". This seems to me to come near enough to misappropriation to satisfy a modern jury.

But Professor Neale goes on to find Stafford's innocence "doubly clear" by reason of the fact that he had directed Walsingham to show Elizabeth a letter "in which this very charge over this very sum of money had been made against him".[27] The letter in question had fallen into Stafford's hands. It contained an attack upon him by one of Navarre's agents. Perhaps Stafford did tell Walsingham to show it to the queen, though we have only his word for it in a

[26] *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX. 308–309.

[27] *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV. 209, *cf.*, *Foreign Cal., Eliz.*, XXI., pt. 1, pp. 378, 483.

letter to Burghley and the things he said about Walsingham in letters to Burghley will not always bear close scrutiny. In any case the letter does not say exactly what Professor Neale seems to find in it. It does not say that Stafford had spent the money in question for his own purposes; it simply says that he was trying to arrange that it might be turned over to his account for the payment of his debts. This is surely quite a different matter, as different indeed as between asking for money and taking it. The fact that Stafford wished Elizabeth to see such a letter may be sufficient to make his innocence "doubly clear" to Professor Neale. It still remains far from clear to me.

The best that can be said for Stafford is that his method of extracting money from his close-fisted mistress would probably not have been considered disreputable by the greedy courtiers of his time, provided of course it was successful. And apparently it was successful.

Even if we decide that the character of the information which Stafford supplied to the Spanish ambassador was such as to betray the interests of his country, we are still faced with the question as to whether or not Stafford was consciously and intentionally a traitor. Frankly, I do not see how that question can ever be answered positively. We know what he did; but we can only guess at what he intended. I have made my guess in my original article in the *American Historical Review*, and I see no reason for changing my position. I think it however more doubtful now than I did then that even Walsingham knew much if anything about Stafford's dealings with the Spanish ambassador. What Walsingham knew of was his intrigues with the English Catholics and it is quite possible, as Professor Neale suggests, that Stafford did succeed in convincing Walsingham that his purposes in those intrigues were quite honest.

Philadelphia. CONYERS READ.

LIFE SPAN OF MISSISSIPPI SLAVES

THE chief purpose of this paper is a consideration of the expectation of life of negro slaves in Mississippi at the age when they were given a full task in the fields. This was not far from the age of twenty. A determination of the expectation of life at this age should have a bearing on the question of their treatment and care. Further light will be gained by comparing the expectation of life of the slaves with the life span of the contemporary white population of the same area.[1]

[1] It is of course unfair to compare the expectation of life of a class with that of another class in a different period of history. The following addition to the

No attempt is made to investigate infant mortality, for we are interested in the life span of slaves after they were given a full task. The study is related to Mississippi because it is one of the lower slave states and the mistreatment of slaves is sometimes thought to have reached its height in those states.[2]

In the census reports of 1850 we can find in separate columns the number of slaves and whites in Mississippi within different age limits.[3]

An examination of this table shows the following interesting facts. There are about as many slaves as whites per hundred under the age of twenty. From twenty to forty there are decidedly more blacks than whites. From forty to sixty the situation is reversed and the whites are in the majority. Above the age of sixty the negroes tend to outnumber the whites.

We are interested chiefly in the fate of the negroes in the first few years after they began to work, which was in the neighborhood of twenty years old, possibly a little earlier. There were considerably more slaves than whites in the ages of twenty to thirty years,

accessible body of knowledge on the subject of the increase in the span of human life in the past century is of interest here. In the years 1906 and 1914, Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, consulting statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, made a study based on the vital statistics recorded on monuments in a large number of cemeteries scattered over the state of Mississippi. His study in the Yazoo Delta was particularly exhaustive, and in connection with this he has written as follows: "For the Yazoo Delta the average age at death of those dying before 1850 was only 32.6 years. Of those dying between 1850–1889 the average age at death was 41.8 years, while of those dying during 1890–1914 the average age at death was 50.2 years". It should be noted that these investigations were limited to ages fifteen and over. The above quotation is from a personal letter from Dr. Hoffman. The manuscripts covering his investigations are in his possession.

[2] A number of references to statements of this theory can be found in U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 382 ff.; and also, W. E. B. Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, p. 154. The idea that slaves were underfed and driven to such an extent that life was shortened has been well combated on the ground that such a policy was economically unsound. Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 387. However, the practical man is not always an "economic" man.

[3] These figures are taken from the *Census of 1850*, pp. 440 ff.

Age	White	Slave	Age	White	Slave
0– 1	8,673	7,399	50–60	11,409	9,244
1– 5	42,734	46,122	60–70	5,093	5,978
5–10	47,899	46,346	70–80	1,828	1,552
10–15	41,186	40,478	80–90	453	531
15–20	32,004	33,698	90–100	67	170
20–30	50,794	59,936	100 plus	18	120
30–40	33,277	37,551	unknown	129	246
40–50	20,154	19,929	total	295,718	309,878

but the proportion of slaves to whites dropped rather gradually until the age of sixty, and after that rose again. Considering the facts in their simplest relationships, a slave twenty years old seems to have had a smaller chance than a white person of the same age to reach the age of thirty, forty, fifty, or sixty. Beyond sixty, his chance of living to one of the higher ages was greater than that of the whites.

Briefly, and to consider the material before us somewhat superficially, a negro twenty or thirty years old could, on the average, look forward to a somewhat shorter life than that of white persons of this same state.[4]

This conclusion is open to several modifications and criticisms. The chief objection is that we have tacitly assumed that the population of the state was unaffected by emigration or immigration to any degree in the years preceding the taking of this census of 1850. In reality, the population of the state had been largely increased by newcomers from other states, and a population that is receiving foreign additions in any considerable numbers will have a high proportion of young people.

This rule will apply with approximately equal force to both the slave and white populations of Mississippi in the years before the Civil War. Many of the white settlers came with their families and many slaves were brought in family lots, but in both cases there was undoubtedly a disproportionte number of young people. The call of new lands has usually sounded loudest to youth. Since the young slaves were the most valuable, the majority of slaves who were not brought in family lots were probably between the ages of fifteen and

[4] It would be interesting to apply the same method to the census reports of 1840 and before, but unfortunately, the age limits in which the inhabitants are classified are not the same for the two colors in the earlier censuses. However, the score of years just before the Civil War is generally considered the period in which the practice of driving the slaves to an early death and replacing them by a fresh stock was at its height. It is therefore sufficient to investigate these years.

It is not necessary to discuss in detail the census of 1860. What has been said of the census of 1850 is essentially true for 1860. However, the statistics for this latter year are here given.

Age	White	Slave	Age	White	Slave
0– 1	10,226	11,674	50–60	15,172	13,208
1– 5	45,948	57,620	60–70	7,225	8,440
5–10	52,819	58,498	70–80	2,409	2,283
10–15	48,595	55,700	80–90	579	701
15–20	39,865	49,288	90–100	71	200
20–30	61,729	81,429	100 plus	18	166
30–40	38,736	48,726	unknown	372	164
40–50	25,539	29,293	total	349,303	417,390

This table is from the *Census of 1860, Population,* pp. 264 ff.

thirty. The reason for the large element of youth in the ranks of the slave immigrants was not the same as that which influenced the whites, but the result was approximately the same in the one case as in the other.

We have stated the theory that the age curve of a population will be heightened in youth and depressed in old age if the population is receiving large foreign increments, and it also seems that this should be equally true for the slave and the free population. Going one step further, the same difference that we have noticed between a stable and an increasing population should also be evident between two growing populations, one of which is growing more rapidly than the other. This is the principle that we now wish to apply to the population of Mississippi. In doing this, we are concerned with the movements over a considerably longer period than the decade immediately preceding the census of 1850.

The reason for considering this longer period can be shown as follows. In Mississippi in 1820 the proportion of slaves to whites was about three to four. In 1850, if both populations had grown at the same rate, we would expect this proportion to continue. But this was not the case, for the slaves were in 1850 more numerous than the whites by 14,000.[5] Whether by birth or importation, the increase of both races was most noticeable in the younger ages. There was thus a tendency for the negro to outnumber the whites in the lower age limits and to be less numerous in the higher ages. This condition was the natural result of the greater increase in the negro population.

In comparing the life spans of slaves and whites in Mississippi we found that leaving out of account the effects of immigration, the slave on the average seems to have had a somewhat shorter life, though the difference was not great. But when immigration, larger for the slave than for the white is taken into consideration, the difference between the expectation of life of the two races is diminished. The exact extent of the influence cannot be accurately measured, but

[5] From the *Census of 1850*, p. 449, is taken the following table showing "Progress of Population from 1800 to 1850 in Mississippi."

Year	Number whites	Per cent. increase	Number slaves	Per cent. increase
1800	5,179	——	3,489	——
1810	23,024	344.56	17,088	389.76
1820	42,176	83.18	32,814	92.02
1830	70,443	67.02	65,659	100.09
1840	179,074	154.21	195,211	197.31
1850	295,718	65.13	309,878	58.74

it was undoubtedly important. Considering the question as a whole, one feels that the life of the slave compared favorably with that of the white in length. There was undoubtedly some margin of difference in favor of the whites, but it could hardly have been great, and this could well be accounted for on other grounds than scant rations and brutal treatment of the subject class.

It is not possible, through an insufficiency of data, to state with a high degree of precision the expectation of life of twenty year old slaves and whites in Mississippi in 1850. The formula ordinarily used in determining expectation of life is:[6]

$$e_x = \frac{l_{x+1} + l_{x+2} + l_{x+3} + \text{etc.}}{l_x}$$

e_x = expectation of life, in years at age x

l_x = number of persons living at age x

l_{x+1} = number of persons living at age $x + 1$.

Since the census of 1850 gives, above the age of 20, the population within ten year age groups, and not the number of each year of age, the formula must be used in the following form:

$$e_x = \frac{l_{x+10} + l_{x+20} + l_{x+30} + \text{etc.}}{1/10\, l_x}$$

It is admitted that a ten year basis of calculations will give only approximate results. However, if this calculation gives a small error for one race, there should be a corresponding error for the other race. The chief use made of these results will be in comparing the two races, and as the expectations of life of the two races are computed by the same method such a comparison should yield relatively accurate results.

Substituting in this formula the population of Mississippi, first the slave and then the white, according to the age groups already given for the year 1850, we find that the expectation of life of the slave was 12.53, and of the white 14.23.[7] It will be noted that the expectations of life (e_x) in these cases are the average expectations of life of slaves and whites within the age limits of twenty to thirty. The figures given are certainly too low for the twenty year old slave, and too high for the slave aged thirty. The same is of course true

[6] George King, *Institute of Actuaries' Text Book* (London, 1902), pt. II. 27; G. C. Whipple, *Vital Statistics* (New York, 1923), pp. 485 ff.

[7] It might be noted that the corresponding results based on the *Census of 1860* were, for slaves, 12.65, and for whites, 14.54.

for the whites. Several years should be added to each of these figures to give the expectations of life of slaves and whites at age twenty. Furthermore, a consideration of the fact that immigration was extensive in both groups, that immigration tended particularly to swell the young adult ages out of proportion to other ages, and further that this age, twenty to thirty, was the divisor in the formula used, it is evident that the quotient must be increased if the result is to be accurate. It is therefore probable that the true expectation of life of twenty year old slaves and whites was about five years more than the first results we stated.

The expectations of life, as just given, are open to the following objections. In the first place, because of the nature of the data, they are not based directly on the age for which this information is desired. Furthermore, the results are clouded by the effects of immigration.

A more serious objection is that in calculating the expectation of life on the basis of the number living at different ages, no account is taken of the number of negroes within a given age who die and are replaced by imported negroes of the same age. Such transactions would leave no record in the census tables that we have used, and many cases of this nature would completely invalidate the conclusions that we have so far built up. If, however, expectation of life is arrived at on the basis of deaths—mortality statistics instead of life statistics—this difficulty will be met. Further, if the expectation of life is approximately the same if arrived at by these two methods, there is the added probability that the result is correct, and also, that there was little substitution of negroes just imported for negroes who have just died. Fortunately, the census of 1850 supplies the needed information, namely, the number of deaths within a twelvemonth period in each of the age groups.

The procedure outlined by Whipple is followed in determining the expectation of life of Mississippi slaves and whites at the age of twenty on the basis of mortality statistics. It consists simply in "finding the average lengths of life of all persons who have lived beyond the given age",[8] in this case, the age of twenty. The expectation of life of white persons of this age is thus found to be 23.72. "Ages of persons who died [in Mississippi] between June 1, 1849 and June 1, 1850."[9]

[8] Whipple, *op. cit.*, pp. 485 ff.

[9] The basic information in these tables, columns A and B, were copied from the *Compendium of the Census of 1850*, p. 400. The *Census of 1860* does not contain mortality statistics which could be used to throw more light on this subject.

White				Slaves			
A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
20–30	419	5	2,095	20–30	543	5	2,715
30–40	283	15	4,245	30–40	408	15	6,120
40–50	233	25	5,825	40–50	296	25	7,400
50–60	157	35	5,495	50–60	164	35	5,740
60–70	145	45	6,525	60–70	152	45	6,840
70–80	80	55	4,400	70–80	62	55	3,410
80–90	53	65	3,445	80–90	36	65	2,340
90–100	9	75	675	90–100	16	75	1,200
				100 plus	26	85	2,210
	1,379		32,705		1,703		37,975

$32{,}705 \div 1{,}379 = 23.72$

$37{,}975 \div 1{,}703 = 22.30$

By a similar procedure, the expectation of life of slaves aged twenty was found to be 22.30. However, it is probably a mistake to give full credance to the last item (26) in column B above, for it seems probably to be too large. If this item is entirely omitted, the expectation of life would appear as 21.32. It would probably be fair in this case to consider the expectation of life of the twenty year old slave as very close to twenty-two years.

The expectations of life of twenty year old whites and slaves as found from the mortality returns give a rather precise answer to the question before us. These figures are open to but two serious criticisms. Being based on returns for ten year age groups instead of giving the precise age of each death, there is some degree of error.[10] But the error should not injure the comparative value of these results.

The other criticism of these results is that the returns for only one year are considered. But there is no record to show that this twelve months was unusual in regard to mortality in Mississippi and with the large number of people under consideration this cannot result in serious error.

The two methods that have been followed in an endeavor to arrive at the expectation of life of twenty year old whites and slaves in

[10] To compensate for this error, the expectations of life, as stated, should be slightly lowered. However, this error is in part at least offset by the effects of immigration. Expectations of life of slaves based on census returns may be criticized on the ground that the negro was prone to exaggerate his age. In view of this the following facts should be stated. The census returns for slaves were probably made by their owners, particularly mortality returns, and on mortality returns was based one calculation of expectation of life. The first method used in this paper to ascertain expectation of life was based on the number living at different ages. A study of the formula used in this calculation will show that old negroes could freely exaggerate their ages without affecting the result. Principal care had to be exercised in deciding whether a negro was over or under twenty years old.

Mississippi in 1850 are seen to be complementary. On the basis of mortality returns we reached rather exact conclusions, though based on the deaths of but one year. A less exact answer was reached on the basis of the enumeration of the living population but a longer period was considered in this.[11]

The following conclusions are warranted.

First, the theory that slaves in Mississippi, as one of the far southern states, were generally worked to death in about seven years is certainly untrue. The expectation of life of twenty year old Mississippi slaves was certainly not less than twice this number, and was probably closer to three times as much.

In the second place, the twenty year old slave's expectation of life was not greatly less than that of the white man of the same age. In both methods used in determining the expectations of life of whites and slaves there was a difference of about one and a half years in favor of the former. And in stating this let it be remembered that the slaves on the whole belonged to a lower economic plane of life than the whites.

It is fully realized that to prove that the slave lived a reasonably long life does not prove that the life of the slave was pleasant or even reasonably bearable. There can be no doubt of the higher mortality among slave infants than among white infants, or the fact that some slaves were inhumanly treated. We are content to show that in Mississippi the treatment of slaves generally was not such as to materially shorten the lives of this class, for the expectation of life of the slave was but little short of that of his master.

Finally, it should be remembered that at the present day the black man and the white man have not equal chances for a long life. We have stated that in 1850 the expectation of life of the twenty year old white man was about one and a half years longer than that of the twenty year old negro. In 1925, in the same state, Mississippi, the expectation of life of the white person is about nine years greater than that of the negro. The expectations of life of both white and black have greatly increased, being 49.03 years for the twenty year old white person, and 40.19 for the negro of the same age.[12] Even

[11] Another indication of the comparative life span of groups of people is the per cent. of the total who are seventy years old or older. In Mississippi in 1850, 7.7 per cent. of the slaves were seventy or more years old. The corresponding figure for the whites is 7.3. In the same state in 1860 there were 7.8 per cent. of the slaves and 8.8 per cent. of the whites seventy years old or older.

[12] These 1925 figures were kindly furnished by Dr. R. N. Whitfield of the Bureau of Vital Statistics of the Mississippi State Board of Health. It is also interesting to compare certain statistics taken from Foudray's *Abridged Life Table for the United States, 1919–1920*. The expectation of life for negroes in the

taking full account of the increase in the length of life of the two races in the seventy-five years between 1850 and 1925, it is evident that the negro as a slave had a longer life in comparison with his white master than he has as a free man in comparison with the white people of Mississippi today.

The University of Mississippi. CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

southern states, so far as these were in the registration area, is 37 years for those who are 20 years old. (The states referred to are Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri.) The corresponding figure for northern states is 36 years. The expectation of life of white persons of the same age is 45.4 for the United States, so far as these are registration states. This information was furnished by Dr. Louis I. Dublin, statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

DOCUMENTS

Fenimore Cooper's Defense of Slave-Owning America

BETWEEN 1828 and 1851 there arose few problems of national concern upon which Fenimore Cooper failed to express a decided opinion. In his *Notions of the Americans* (1828), in his *American Democrat* of a decade later, and in his posthumous fragment on the history of New York,[1] as well as in many of his pamphlets and novels, he outlined the position of a liberal and nonpartisan democrat.

The problem of slavery, developing as it did from mere conjecture almost to a crisis during these years, naturally attracted his attention, but his customary emotional approach is somewhat modified in his published expressions of opinion upon this subject. His position is unusual because of his refusal to discuss slavery as an independent issue rather than as an incidental part of his larger criticism of American character and political philosophy.

At the root of all his ideas lay his belief in the permanence of the union, and he refused, almost until the last, to consider slavery as a threat of secession.[2] He did not, like Judge William Jay and his other Abolitionist friends, condemn the institution as a national crime. He was concerned rather with explaining its existence, and in prophesying its ultimate disappearance in natural course. Although he did not approve of it, he avoided a direct attack, choosing rather to defend a slave-owning America against those foreign critics who, in his judgment, failed to understand the circumstances of its existence in an otherwise enlightened nation. The peculiar value of his social criticism results always from his international perspective. He discusses Europe for the Americans and America for the Europeans.

This position, otherwise somewhat difficult to appreciate, is clearly defined in an essay upon slavery which appeared, in French, in the *Revue Encyclopédique* for April, 1827, over the anonymous signature "Un Citoyen des États-Unis". It is the first important statement of his ideas upon the subject. Although the original English manuscript is now in the British Museum,[3] the article has hitherto remained unidentified as his work.

[1] Published in the *Spirit of the Fair*, New York, Apr. 5, 1864 ff.

[2] *Cf., Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper*, II. 701.

[3] Add. MS. 33, 964, ff. 449–454.

This paper was written in answer to that of J. C. L. de Sismondi, the economist, on the subject of America, which had appeared in the January issue of the same year. Sismondi, author of several works on political economy and a frequent contributor to the *Revue*, apparently had come upon a copy of Buchon's *Atlas des Deux Amériques* (1825) and, using the extensive statistical information contained in that work, supplemented by his own knowledge and general reading on the subject, prepared a leading article on the subject of conditions in the new world, with special reference to slavery in the United States. In some of his tables Buchon speaks of "negroes" and "free blacks", in others he groups both under the designation of "men of color". These terms Sismondi uses indiscriminately and without apparently understanding their exact definitions. Cooper is wrong, however, in supposing that Sismondi relied upon English sources, for in all he follows Buchon closely, and Buchon in turn planned his work on the lines of the historical atlas of Lesage and claimed that his work was done in America.

Sismondi's article, after lengthy preliminaries concerning South as well as North America, finally concentrates upon the real topic of its author's interest, black slavery in the United States. He did not have to search far in the history of his own country to realize that a suppressed lower class constitutes a social danger. When a color barrier is raised to emphasize this suppression, the danger is correspondingly increased. He cites statistics to show that the slave population is concentrated in ten states, establishing something like a race balance in that section. The logical conclusion is a war of extermination if a superificial prejudice be allowed to remain as a fast barrier. The remedy is the amalgamation of the two races, the first steps toward which are the freeing and education of the slaves, and the raising of individual negroes to positions of high responsibility. His final paragraph[4] is eloquent:

> All men of enlightenment, humanity, and religion, ought to work, in all the Americas, to destroy this sinister and shameful prejudice; their duty calls them to bear witness constantly by their example that they recognize men of all colors as brothers, and capable of becoming their equals in virtue and talents. The more they enjoy consideration in society, the more they should use it to raise their brothers to their own level; that they should testify, whenever occasion affords, to their friendship and regard; that they should mingle in their pleasures; that they should sometimes sit at the table of the negro and of the man of color, and that they should seat them at their own; that they should invite those who distinguish themselves by their talents, their virtues, by a more careful education, to their assemblies; that they be careful to show to them be-

[4] *Revue Encyclopédique*, XXXIII. 39–40 (Jan., 1827). [Translated from the French.]

fore witnesses that social consideration, that regard which was entirely invented by the aristocracy, and which nevertheless bears the imprint of equality; especially that they devote themselves to facilitating, to favoring, their education, to letting them go to Europe if necessary for it, where certainly we shall not treat them as inferiors, but where on the contrary, we shall surround them with all the respect which is merited by those who advance themselves in the course of civilization; that they profit equally by the talents which develop among them to call some of them to eminent functions. The white man must sometimes feel called to respect the black, to obey him; some men of color must be introduced into the highest dignities of the republics in order that some examples, living and present to all eyes, may constantly recall to citizens the equality of races. When some free blacks are named deputies to congress, when some are seen sitting on the benches of the judges, when some are professors in the universities, or preachers in the pulpits, the wound of America will begin to heal, the frightful storm which menaces her republics will be turned far from their horizon.

Cooper's answer to this somewhat rhetorical criticism of his country was heralded by a letter in atrocious French, now preserved with the manuscript of his reply in the British Museum. It was addressed to M. Jullien, then editor of the *Revue*, and is without date. After asking for a postponement of an invitation to meet M. Casimir de la Vigne and others, he continues:

I wish very much to speak with you about the article of M. Sismondi in the last number of the *Revue*. He has made some errors in his facts —for example, he says that the United States have not done anything for *the blacks*. Literally, it is true, for the power does not belong to the United States, but to each state—it is entirely a municipal affair for the individual states.

When we were English provinces, slavery existed throughout. At present there are slaves only in five of the thirteen original states. He has said that the blacks have no privileges in the United States. He is mistaken—in the free states they have nearly the same rights as the whites, and in the state of New York they have more by a freak in the laws. In the state of New Hampshire, there was recently, as Mr. Carter has told me, a black who was a deputy in the legislative corps of the state. I myself know many blacks who are priests and one who is a lawyer. Without doubt most of them are ignorant and stupid, but it is the chance of their condition, as poor men and men brought up in unfortunate circumstances.

He is mistaken in almost all his facts. I believe that he has followed the authority of English writers, of whom there is no one, friend or enemy, who has given a good moral and political description of my country.

Apparently Cooper was encouraged to put his detailed opinions in writing, for his article appeared almost immediately in the *Revue*. It was sent to the editor with a note explaining that he wished to say nothing disagreeable to M. Sismondi personally, but that he had written with all sincerity. The following text is Cooper's original

English version and not, as in the previous cases, a translation from the French. A note in another hand, on the manuscript in the British Museum, verifies the practically conclusive evidence of Cooper's authorship. The previous signed letter, the handwriting, and the characteristic opinions leave little room for doubt.

Swarthmore College. ROBERT E. SPILLER.

I have read, with regret, in the last number of your publication, an article concerning slavery in the U. S. of America, which bears the respectable name of M. Sismondi. Perfectly certain that the writer is governed by humane and commendable motives, I regret that his want of knowledge of the actual state of society in that country should have led him into some errors which have a tendency to create an unfavourable opinion of the national character of my countrymen. It is not my present intention to enter into any grave discussion of this question, but I so far crave your indulgence as to request you will admit a few remarks, in answer to what has already appeared.

On the morality, or even the policy of slavery, there is no very great difference of opinion in the United States. Most intelligent and liberal slave holders are ready to admit it is an evil; but they say that it is an evil which is much easier to remedy in theory than in practice. Slaves were sent into their colonies by England, France, Spain, &c. with the most cool and calculating cupidity. Removed, themselves, from the danger, physical and moral, of the practice, they did not hesitate to inflict the curse on their American dependants with the intention of deriving the greatest possible resources from their transatlantic possessions. After having created this unhealthy condition in society, and no longer able to reap its profit, it is doubtless easy to declaim against a nation which has become so involved in the malign policy as to find it difficult to extricate itself. It should never be forgotten that the U. S. of America, when colonies, protested against the introduction of slaves, and that the grievance was one of the reasons for the Declaration of Independence. I need not add that this same policy is still pursued by all the nations above named. M. Sismondi must therefore pay my countrymen the high compliment of expecting more from them than from any other Christian people, or he is guilty of the injustice of wishing to extort it. I am certain from his character that he has only done the former. I am happy to say that he has no just reason to believe himself altogether disappointed.

The Declaration of Independence found slavery existing in the *whole* of the fourteen colonies that originally formed the confederaton. I include Vermont, a state which so far as this question goes, and indeed in everything else but form, has a perfect right to be included in that decisive measure. I shall now quote the words of M. Sismondi. He is speaking of the United States—"et l'on n'y a cependant pas encore fait un pas vers l'adoucissment du sort des nègres, vers leurs protection par les lois et les magistrats, vers leurs affranchisement." This is certainly a heavy and comprehensive charge, and should only have been hazarded on good authority. Let us examine its verity.

Of the fourteen states in which Slavery existed at the Declaration of Independence it is now to be found in only five. In the other nine it

has been virtually abolished. If Maine, which is part of the same territory, be included, it is abolished in ten out of fifteen of the original states. Is this doing nothing?

It should be remembered there is a great difference between philanthropists legislating in Europe for the interests of a nation in another hemisphere, and in a people legislating for themselves. The same difference exists between preaching charity and giving alms. When the American legislator emancipates a slave, he puts his hand into his own pocket; still it has been done; though perhaps yet not to the extent which every just man could wish.

It is highly probable that M. Sismondi, in examining this subject, has fallen into an error which is very common to all Europeans. The Government of the United States is an anomaly in the political history of the world. While a vast proportion of the power resides in the several states of which the confederation is composed the laws of the general government act directly on the people. The peculiarity often misleads and confounds the foreign enquirer into our policy and institutions. Many years have elapsed since congress did all, in relation to slavery, that it had the power to do. In virtue of its right to control the commerce of the country it prohibited the importation of slaves and proclaimed the traffic, in the citizen of the United States, to be piracy. We then possessed, and still possess, immense uncultivated regions from which a profit might be much earlier derived had congress chosen to imitate the policy of the European states in this particular and to have improved its revenues at the expense of humanity and justice. When an Englishman or Frenchman boasts that slaves do not exist in England or France, his attention should be strongly directed to the colonies of the respective countries, and it might excite wholesome reflexions by asking him what room there is for their existence in either kingdom. One is already teeming with an overflowing population, and the other is compelled to maintain an immense proportion of its inhabitants as paupers. I do not say that England or France would introduce negro slavery if they could, but I am safe in saying that both countries maintain them in all places under their dominion where it is practicable.

If M. Sismondi has searched the *laws of the United States* in quest of any act in favour of the slaves, he has looked in the wrong place. Congress does not possess power to interfere. It rests entirely with the different states; a fact which renders what has been done, the more commendable, inasmuch as those whose pecuniary interests have been most affected by the measure, have been the agents of their own losses. If he had looked into the statute books of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, &c., he would have found they had in substance abolished slavery. The reform commenced in Massachusetts, and it had been gradually going south. Public opinion, by which everything must be moved in the United States, has already made great progress in the important states of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. The result is certain, though as all things are done much more for use than for theatrical effect in that country its approach may not be sufficiently rapid to suit the impatience of those who are too much influenced by their feelings and too little by their judgment.

I shall waive many considerations which are connected with this [subject]. M. Sismondi says that nothing has been done to ameliorate the condition of the negro. He is greatly in error. In the free states

the black is emphatically a free man. He enjoys all the rights of the white, with some slight exemptions that grow out of the peculiarities of the relation which exists between all the states, but which exemptions are, if anything, priviliges in his favour. They are not a provident race and a large proportion of them certainly continue ignorant and poor. The effect of this condition is inevitable. A black face is just as much *prima facie* evidence that its possessor is vulgar and uneducated, in the U. S., as titles, stars, and ribbons in Europe are evidences that their possessors are gentlemen. [It] is however possible to be mistaken in both. I have known many clergymen, several masters of vessels, traders, farmers, &c., among the blacks, and a friend has just assured me, that he knows one who has been a member of the legislature in the state of New Hampshire; a situation which, though it may not be so honorable as a seat in the Chamber of Deputies, is quite as much demonstrative of the state of prejudice in the minds of the people, inasmuch as I fancy it depends something more on the popular will.

I do not understand M. Sismondi when he says a negro is not protected by the laws. In the free states they have, with the few exceptions just alluded to, the rights of other citizens. At all events they enjoy more immunities and greater liberty than the white man in any other part of the world. Sir, everything possessing animal life is, in substance, protected by the laws, in my country. A man can use, but he may not abuse his horse, or his dog, or his pig. The latter is an offense *contra bonos mores*, and as such punishable. The negro is property, undoubtedly, where he is a slave, but as he is of a higher order of being than any animal, he is protected accordingly. His person can be assaulted, his rights violated, or himself murdered, as well as a white man; nor is there any material difference in the punishments which the law inflicts in the respective cases. As each state enacts its own laws, it is difficult to write with precision on this subject. In the state of South Carolina, alone, I believe, it was not death to kill a slave, but this law I am told is repealed; a fact which, if true, furnishes another proof of the errors in which M. Sismondi has fallen. In many states the relation between slave and owner differs but little from that between master and apprentice, if allowance be made for the duration of the servitude.

M. Sismondi has also been misinformed concerning the treatment of slaves in the United States. Doubtless there are many abuses, but in general they are at least well clothed and lodged, and far better fed, than half the peasants in Europe. I can assure him that I daily see women performing offices in France, in the polished city of Paris itself, far more laborious and onerous than any I have ever witnessed among the negro women of America. They are provided for in their age, and are never seen cumbering the approach to the altars, objects of misery and disgust, imploring alms and exhibiting their ailings and their wants. I wish not to vindicate the practice of holding slaves. For near two centuries that my family has been in America we have never held a slave; but, if called on to give my testimony on such a question, I should not hesitate to say that, in my judgment, the American slave is better off, so far as mere animal wants are concerned, than the lower order of the European peasants. They are a race proverbial for their light heartedness. The laugh of the negro is merriment itself.

I come now to another quotation from M. Sismondi: "les Americains ont deux choses a faire non pas seulement s'ils veulent meriter l'estime du

monde, mais s'ils veulent vivre." The remedies which he prescribes for these two serious dangers are emancipation of the slaves and amalgamation of the two races. There are probably in the United States more than 10,000,000 of whites and about 2,000,000 of blacks. Supposing that the struggle, which M. Sismondi so evidently anticipates, is to be made with naked hands, on what principle does he imagine that the latter could ever succeed against such an overwhelming physical superiority. I say nothing of the advantages of intelligence, concert, and preparation. More than a million of men, familiar with the use of arms, conscious of their high privileges, and between the ages of 18 and 45, are actually enrolled in the militia of the United States. It was four thousand of these men who repelled Sir Edward Packenham with three times that number of hirelings, and with such terrible slaughter, from before the lines of New Orleans. When physical power, intelligence, aptitude, and attachment to their institutions are considered, I am confident that no other country in the world could supply a million of such devoted defenders. Is it probable that they would be likely to yield those high advantages, of which they boast, to a race so inferior in number and qualities! This force might be vastly increased by the addition, if necessary of half as many exempts. I think that on reflexion, M. Sismondi, himself, will be willing to admit that his expression has been too comprehensive and too strong. Eight of those ten millions of Americans, whom he threatens with such imminent danger, are at this moment virtually living without a slave amongst them, and however they may deplore the curse which has been inflicted on their less fortunate countrymen, they stand ready at any moment to protect them with their resources and with their persons. It is possible for murders and ravages to be committed in isolated districts, but to talk of danger to the Republic from this source is absurd.

But the Americans have to emancipate and mingle their blood with their slaves "s'ils veulent meriter l'estime du monde." By the world, I understand Christendom. This is a remarkable admission for an European to make to an American. It is, in substance, telling him, 'we have done a wrong by our injustice and cupidity which we expect your justice and disinterestedness will repair;' nay, it says more, 'although we can at any moment by an ordonnance of a government whose interests are but remotely connected with the subject, repair this wrong, yet we are unequal to the office. But we expect from you, so much better are you than ourselves, that you will put your hands into your own pockets and strip yourself of more than half your personal property (for the right to legislate on the subject is in each state and consequently in the hands of the slave-holder himself) in order to effect this humane object. The penalty is the forfeiture of our esteem!' Sir, I thank M. Sismondi for the compliment. At the same time, I cannot conceal from myself that my countrymen are human beings; governed by the same motives, and much influenced by the interests that sway the rest of the human race. For all this, they may become the subjects of commisseration to those who are their superiors, but I cannot see on what pretext their equals may pretend to despise them.

I would not willingly hurt the feelings of any of that people, who have, already, experienced but too much contumely. It is difficult to write intelligibly on the subject of the amalgamation of the two races without giving offence. But this much I will say, that such philan-

thropists in Europe as are single and wish to form one of those matrimonial connexions to which M. Sismondi alludes, have it easily in their power to do so. In order to quicken their zeal they have only to remember that as the evil of which they complain had its origin in European cupidity, it is meet that European philanthropy should, on this occasion, be foremost in its self-devotion. As marriages are so rarely made on calculation with us, I am afraid it is idle to expect the United States will set the example. It is characteristic, it may be the weakness, of the American to look upward and not downward in the scale of being. This vanity of his will certainly be understood in Europe, where without any of the objections of colour and physical peculiarity, matches are daily prevented on grounds no more substantial than the absence of letters of nobility. It must be proved that the Southern American who mingles so freely with the Indian and the negro loses as much by the communion as would his brother of the North, before his example can be expected to produce the desired result.

M. Sismondi quotes the liberation of the serfs of Europe. Without adverting to the time they were occupied in the task, I apprehend they were chiefly instrumental in their own emancipation. The Metiffs and Indians of South America and Mexico would probably have done the same thing had it become necessary. The United States are proceeding cautiously to attain their objects, indifferent alike to danger or reproach. They have no apprehension of the one, and are not conscious of meriting the other. Theatrical effect is much less consulted than prejudice in all their political conduct. Consequently they have rarely to undo anything which they have once deliberately performed.

If M. Sismondi is offended with the state of things, which has been inflicted by Europe on America, the Americans are possibly as much offended by many things, which Europe has also inflicted on herself. Perhaps it may be well to leave both hemispheres to conduct their own affairs in their own way. Strangers are much more liable to raise objections, than to suggest remedies. As to my countrymen, I think I may be permitted to conclude by saying, without incurring the imputation of vanity, that they have given, during the last fifty perilous years, sufficient pledges of moderation, consistency, and firmness, to be left to the operations of their own humanity and discretion.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

A History of Science and its Relations with Philosophy and Religion. By WILLIAM CECIL DAMPIER DAMPIER-WHETHAM, M.A., F.R.S. (Cambridge: University Press. 1929. Pp. xxi, 514. 18 s.)

MR. DAMPIER-WHETHAM is entitled to be heard with respect on the subject of the History of Science because of his previous publications in that field such as his book, *The Recent Development of Physical Science*, which ran through five editions from 1904 to 1924; his chapter on the Scientific Age in the *Cambridge Modern History*; his article on Science in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; his chapter on the Birth of Modern Science in Harmsworth, *Universal History*, 1928; and other books and articles. In the present work he attempts to cover the whole history of science and also its relation with philosophy and religion in less than 500 pages of which nearly three-fifths are devoted to the period since 1800. The book is divided into an introduction which briefly outlines the main points of the subsequent text, successive chapters on Antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Newtonian Epoch; then three chapters on nineteenth century physics, biology, and the relations of science to philosophic thought; then three similar chapters on recent developments. The summing up of the whole period from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century in a single chapter centering about the figure of Newton seems the most novel and perhaps also the most questionable feature in the plan of the book. It should be said, however, that such a figure as Boyle is included in the Renaissance chapter. That the author's attitude to the past of science is otherwise conservative rather than radical, and inclined to adhere to traditional views may be inferred from the respect with which he speaks of Whewell's books in the preface.

In the discussion of ancient science only a few chapters are given to antiquity before the Greeks, and to the Far East. Under the Middle Ages, the author has profited by the first volume of George Sarton's *Introduction to the History of Science* in his discussion of Arabic science, but such works on the later Middle Ages as those of Pierre Duhem seem quite unknown to him and his selecting Aquinas for a discussion of five pages while merely mentioning the name of Albertus Magnus is suggestive of his attitude. The scientific activities of the fourteenth century are not described at all; instead we have some paragraphs on the Decay of Scholasticism. At the bottom of page 98 the recent English translation

of Roger Bacon's *Opus Maius* is ascribed to R. B. Burton instead of R. B. Burke.

The chapter on the Renaissance suffers from inclusion of old errors. Thus we read on page 107, "the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 hastened this process and led to the arrival of many competent teachers who brought manuscripts with them to their new homes". It is, of course, now well known that both the Greek manuscripts and teachers had begun to come west many years before 1453, and that the demand for Greek manuscripts was created by the movement of humanism which had already sprung up spontaneously on Italian soil, so that ambitious Westerners like Jacobus Angelus and Guarino of Verona went east to learn Greek and look for manuscripts before 1400. The author also exaggerates the effect of the "spirit of the Renaissance" upon scientific activity. He does well, however, to remember that "no account of the two centuries which followed the Renaissance would be complete without some reference to the belief in witchcraft", and to give some account of the same.

The author's discussion of modern science is the most valuable part of the book and the field in which he is evidently most at home. His inclusions and omissions here will be noted with interest and the relationship which he indicates between different thinkers and advances. It is this part of the work which chiefly will have to justify the place of this new work among preceding one volume histories of science. Skill is shown in simplification, generalization, and coördination. The treatment is clear, sane, and substantial in character. One general criticism of the book as a whole which occurs to the present reviewer is that the relation of scientific advance to practical invention and scientific instruments has been somewhat slighted because of the author's interest in the development of scientific thought and its relation to philosophy and religion.

Columbia University. LYNN THORNDIKE.

Thucydides and the Science of History. By CHARLES NORRIS COCHRANE, University College, Toronto. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1929. Pp. 179. $3.50.)

THIS attractive essay has three motives: to trace indirectly to Democritus and directly to Hippocrates, Thucydides's conception of history; to exhibit the conclusions as to the state, Hellenism, the outside world, and 'the great' war to which Thucydides arrived by the rigorous application of this conception; and to vindicate for Thucydides alone among the ancients, and indeed among historians generally before Niebuhr (excepting Machiavelli), a truly scientific method of historical investigation and thinking. Uniting all three motives is the endeavor "to discover what is meant by the expression *science of history* and also to elucidate the scope and limitations of the scientific point of view".

Hippocrates and Thucydides, we are told, both eschewed general conceptions, which belong, Mr. Cochrane insists, to religion and philosophy. They both ascertained the facts or symptoms of the particular case, and, assuming the uniformity of man and his physical (including human) environment, *prognosed* the issue. *Prognosis*—a gift of nature supremely manifested by Themistocles—enables the historian "intelligently to appreciate events". It yields the sort of limited generalizations one finds in the speeches of Thucydides. Of this warp and woof—ascertained facts and the ideas that make them relevant to their issue and hence intelligible—the web of scientific history is woven. The incalculable disturbs the statesman: the scientific historian notes it and passes on. To relate it to gods, Tyche, Providence, or Fate is for him to sin as does the moralist, patriot, teacher, or political philosopher, who, approaching series of facts with general conceptions of right, duty, or justice, appreciates them morally, politically, didactically, or philosophically and tries to wring from them absolute truths and general laws. History, that is, scientific history, knows no general laws—of decline, progress, cycles, or what not. The scientific historian leaves to the sociologist the field of social therapeutics, but he alone furnishes the data essential for a cure. "Shocks", *e.g.*, the violent impact of rapidly changing seasons, or the irruption of migratory hordes, ideas, or diseases, bring on crises which the physician and the historian, each in his own province, must watch with especial care.

The service of this well-written, closely-reasoned book will be greatest to those who do not read German. The author's judgment of Thucydides and his conception of history as a science correspond closely with those of Eduard Meyer. That he has arrived, as it appears *suo Marte*, to conclusions identical in essentials with those of "the greatest historian of Greece since George Grote" is no small achievement. The approximation of Thucydides and Hippocrates is happy. They were undoubtedly kindred spirits—the product of the same great scientific movement; and Mr. Cochrane's book should compel the student of intellectual history henceforth to read them in conjunction. But that the historian consciously transferred to his own province the methods of the physician is less certain. Thucydides the statesman was after all the pupil of Themistocles. Thucydides the Athenian owes his style rather to Gorgias and Antiphon than to Hippocrates the Ionian. Yet his use of the medical word for cause (*prophasis*) and his description of the plague disclose indubitably his familiarity with medical writings. Mr. Cochrane's work reflects great credit on the Toronto school of classical studies.

Harvard University. W. S. Ferguson.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth. With contributions to the study of its place in early British history, by ACTON GRISCOM, M.A., together with a literal translation of the Welsh Manuscript no. LXI. of Jesus College, Oxford, by ROBERT ELLIS JONES, S.T.D., Canon of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1929. Pp. xiv, 672. $10.00.)

"THIS volume offers (1) the first accurate text made from manuscripts of the most important source of early British history and legend; (2) the first literal translation of one of the surviving Welsh Manuscript Chronicles dealing with the same early history; and (3) a discussion of Geoffrey's claim to have had and translated an ancient British book."

It is indeed strange that we have waited until the year 1929 for an authoritative text of the *Historia* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Mr. Griscom deserves the gratitude of all scholars for his efforts in providing a sound basis for the reëxamination of the *Historia* controversy upon its merits. All previous discussions of Geoffrey have been based upon faulty editions or translations. Even textual criticism has been attempted on foundations totally inadequate. In his admirable and convincing introduction Mr. Griscom proves how utterly baseless are many of the slights put upon Geoffrey as a romancer, not to say a liar, slights which are fully deserved by his "correctors". Many of Geoffrey's supposed absurdities do not exist in the manuscripts but only in the printed editions. He correlates various passages of the *Historia* with Welsh chronicles and shows a presumption in favor of the actual possession by Geoffrey of a *vetustissimus liber*. Several of the Welsh sources are not translations of the *Historia* but have a possible common source in the old British book. By references to the recent anthropological and archæological discoveries he has proved the truth of some of Geoffrey's statements (and those of the Welsh chronicles) which have been regarded as fables because they are not mentioned by Gildas, Nennius, or Bede. While cautious in his conclusions, Mr. Griscom makes a strong plea that scholars give the Britons their right to a traditional history.

The text of the *Historia* and its companion, the translation from the Welsh by Canon Jones, form the bulk of the work. Mr. Griscom is a painstaking paleographer. He has examined or caused to be examined afresh the hundred and ninety manuscripts of the *Historia*. Each is newly and completely described and the date established as far as possible. In a series of appendixes these are conveniently tabulated by countries, by libraries, by date for the twelfth century manuscripts, by those appearing in Hardy's list, and by those appearing in Hardy which are to be rejected as duplicates or no longer identifiable. Then follows a description of fifty-eight Welsh manuscripts, many of them never be-

fore fully identified. Canon Jones's notes and translation of the Jesus College MS. prove false the notion that the Welsh chronicles may be passed over as copies or paraphrases of the *Historia*, or that they contain no information of value.

The book is excellently printed and contains a selected bibliography and three indexes, to the introduction, to the Latin text, and to the translation.

New York University. ANDRÉ ALDEN BEAUMONT, JR.

The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326–1347. By HENRY STEPHEN LUCAS. [University of Michigan Publications in History and Political Science, volume VIII.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1929. Pp. xvii, 696, viii.)

THE reader can only marvel at the skillful patience with which Professor Lucas has threaded his way through the intricacies of a situation in feudal politics which makes problems of modern Balkan policy seem simplicity itself. The quarrel of Edward III. and Philip VI. and its relation to the struggle between Louis the Bavarian and the Avignon popes appears only as a background for the local ambitions of the princes in the Low Countries. These princes do play important parts in the diplomacy of the larger contest but they do so for the advancement of petty local interests. The discussion of these many and confusing feudal problems makes hard reading, but the impression of confusion which one gets is probably nearer to reality than a more simplified account would be. Sometimes the author, in his desire for thoroughness, seems needlessly careful to name *all* the persons present (which may explain why there are seventy-two pages of index), but he makes up for this by providing a summary of his main theses in his concluding chapter which is most clarifying. The student is advised to read this first.

By freeing himself from the point of view of earlier writers and from the influence of Froissart and Villani, and by basing his study upon the "less known but vastly more reliable chronicles" of the Low Countries, the author has been able to give a new and convincing interpretation of Edward III.'s relations with the princes of that region. Published source materials, of which there is vast quantity, and monographs provide the chief foundation for this investigation, with some supplementary material from the French, Belgian, and Dutch archives. The English archives have not been consulted, but it will be remembered that the Close Rolls, Fine Rolls, and Patent Rolls for this period have been calendared.

The central figures are William, Count of Holland, and John, Duke of Brabant. Van Artevelde appears and his rule in Ghent is discussed at length on the basis of information derived from the city accounts, but his diplomatic importance is lessened, and the revolutionary character of his régime is minimized. He appears rather as a practical politician

attempting to arrange an economic *entente* with England while remaining neutral in the political struggle between the two kings. In this he failed. He also failed ultimately in dominating Flanders, but it is explained that his difficulties arose from "internecine strife of the guilds" and from the hostility of the small towns for the large ones rather than from his pro-English policies. It also becomes clear that his death did not change the political situation in the Low Countries.

Students of the early history of diplomacy will find enlightenment in this account of Edward's elaborate efforts to create a favorable coalition of these princes in the Low Countries. It is evident that money was his most potent argument. His attempt to use wool for political ends is described in detail. The failure of his diplomacy is ascribed to his inability to pay the subsidies which he had promised. Naval and military victories apparently had little political weight against an empty treasury. His diplomatic failure has particular significance when it is pointed out that it caused him to turn to a policy of seeking his ends, not by a coalition of subsidized feudal princes on the Continent, but by a national English army maintained by parliamentary grants.

Williams College. RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von LUDWIG FREIHERRN VON PASTOR. Band XIII., *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Katholischen Restauration und des Dreissigjährigen Krieges, 1621–1644.* (Freiburg i. B. and St. Louis: B. Herder and Company. 1928–1929. Pp. xvi, xxvi, 1057. $11.00.)

BEFORE even the first of these half-volumes was off the press Ludwig von Pastor was gone. He died, after a month's illness, on September 30, 1928, still but halfway through his seventies. His readers, however, are assured by the sketch of his life, from the loving pen of his brother-in-law, Paul Kaufmann, which comes with the second half-volume that the proofs of this thirteenth volume were read by the author and that the manuscript of the three yet lacking was left substantially complete by him. The surveys of his career that enrich the magazines are second in value to the brief autobiography contributed by himself four or five years ago to the series edited by Sigfrid Steinberg; but they add a detail as to which he was silent. His father was Lutheran, and not till the age of ten, when he lost that parent, was he free to adopt the Catholic faith of his mother.

The present volume brings to a close that "age of the Catholic reformation and restoration" in which he has taken a special joy; and, before passing to the "age of princely absolutism" that follows, he surveys in a preface the Church's regeneration under that unequaled line of rulers that began in 1534 with Paul the Third. To this great succession he reckons fully Gregory XV. (1621–1623), though he reigned less than two

years and a half. "Never, probably", he says, "has a short pontificate left so deep a mark on history." Nor will he, as do others, ascribe this mainly to the vigor and tact of the papal nephew, Cardinal Ludovisi. Both owed their training to the Jesuits, and their team-work was perfect. Theirs in common was the creation of the Propaganda, which has ever since lent such efficiency to Catholic recruiting, both in Protestant and in heathen lands. The great duel between France and the Hapsburgs they were able to fend off; and through their effective aid the great war, now become a holy war, seemed ending in the triumph of their protégé, Max of Bavaria, whose succession to the Palatine electorate assured forever a Catholic emperor.

But Urban the Eighth, diplomat and man of letters, whose papacy, the longest in centuries, was to last from 1623 to 1644, was no such ideal champion of the faith. His secular tastes, his lavish nepotism, his princely pride and ambition, Pastor admits; but his heart, he thinks, was in the Catholic restoration, and for yet a half-dozen years the Church's star mounted. That then it went into lasting eclipse was the work of Richelieu; and to Pastor he is, of course, the villain of the great drama. For his unscrupulous statesmanship Urban's was no match; but that the Pope became his tool Pastor denies, and that Ranke and Gregorovius are misled by the partisan slander of the Venetian envoys, of the Fleming Ameyden, of the memoir-writer Siri, he goes far to prove. The honesty of Richelieu's Catholicism and his genuine devotion to France Pastor does not question; but that a prince of the Church could thus snatch victory from her grasp and on her ruin as well as that of the Hapsburgs build the greatness of a secular power is to him an incomprehensible treason. Yet how intolerable to even Catholic statesmen had grown the Church's overlordship is revealed by Pastor's own sigh that Richelieu "found eager pupils": "from now on the policy of the other Catholic great powers too was governed by purely secular considerations".

European thought, too, had been reminded what churchly omnipotence must mean. In 1633 old Galileo Galilei, foremost man of science of his time, was called before the Holy Inquisition on "vehement suspicion" of holding and teaching still the forbidden theory of Copernicus and was sentenced to perpetual seclusion, escaping death by recantation and submission. Pastor's fourteen pages on the episode are of studied moderation and fairness. He does not acquit the astronomer of rashness, lack of tact, evasion of the Church's prohibition; but he does not fail to point out how much reason Pope Urban had given for his confidence or to let us see how the Pope's wounded vanity when his own argument appeared in the mouth of the Simplicius of Galileo's dialogue may have turned the scale. The whole affair Pastor calls a "sad occurrence" and he finds it "the troubling thing in Galileo's case" "that the blunder was committed by representatives of the Church and in the name of religion". Yet "for the theologians", he thinks, "the error of 1616 and 1633 was for centuries a constant warning", and he consoles himself with the reflec-

tion that the Inquisition can not be counted infallible, not even when its decisions bore the approval of the pope, and that there has been no second Galileo case. Alas, that the world was so long in finding out that such decisions could not claim infallibility! When, on learning of Galileo's sentence, Descartes laid down his pen and never finished his great work on the universe, was it not much like a second Galileo case?

It is, of course, but an odd slip of the pen that makes Galileo (p. 627) hold "the sun movable, the earth immovable"; but when, on the same page, we are told that "it was well known to him that it was no longer customary to torture septuagenarians", the slip is more serious. In lay courts and in ordinary crimes, it is true, the torture of such old men was forbidden, and this restriction was well known. But in the excepted crime of heresy, for which the only court was the Holy Inquisition, all was left to the discretion of the inquisitor. What Bordoni says (1648) in the Latin sentence quoted by Pastor in a footnote is that "in the discretion of the inquisitor feeble old men in their sixties are not to be tortured"; and Bordoni adds (what Pastor leaves out) "but they may be terrified". Now, this "territio", prescribed in detail by the instructions, might include a taste of torture. Even the mild Diana, in his monograph (1635) on the torture of those "vehemently suspected" of heresy, while deprecating for old men any torture in the "territio", would let the inquisitors decide, according to the health, vigor, and station of each delinquent, at just what age after sixty old age should exempt. The Inquisition's trials were secret, and secret are still its records, as nobody has taught us like Pastor, who in vain wished to use them. Who, then, could know what was or was not "customary"? The papers of Galileo's own trial have indeed now seen the light; but on this point they are not conclusive, nor is it likely that they would be so if we could be sure we have them all. The best reason for assurance that Galileo was not tortured is that no torture was needed. Unless his death was preferred to his submission—and that there is no reason to think—torture would have been perilous. The recantation and the penalties were prescribed parts of a trial for "vehement suspicion".

In striking contrast with Pastor's mildness toward Galileo is his fierceness toward the Jansenists. He even makes the dominance their teaching gained in France a cause of the French Revolution: God seemed such a tyrant that the French glorified the rights of man at his cost. To those who have thought Pastor too much under Jesuit influence this may be an added count; but back of Jansenism he sees Calvinism, which he detests yet more. To the influence of Calvinism he chiefly ascribes the rise of Jansenism.

Cornell University. GEORGE L. BURR.

Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, 1476–1622. By MATTHIAS A. SHAABER, Instructor in English in the University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1929. Pp. xi, 368. $4.00.)

PREVIOUS to the discovery in 1912 of twenty-four single sheets of foreign news, some of which were printed in English in Holland and some in London, the so-called *Weekely Newes,* a news-book that appeared in London in May, 1622, had been considered the earliest prototype of the newspaper in England. The finding of the single-sheet corantos, six of which were printed in London, beginning in September, 1621, carried back the history of English journalism eight months earlier. It also connected journalism in England very closely with that of Holland and Germany, since these first English corantos were obviously translations from Dutch and German originals. The only other attempts to carry the history of the dissemination of news in England back of 1621, have been made incidentally in connection with the studies on the ballad.

The present volume is the result of a scholarly investigation of all of the various forms in which news was printed in England from the time of the introduction of the printing press to the beginning of the first periodical news-book in 1622. It is based on an examination of broadsides, pamphlets, and books in all the important English libraries that possess material printed in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries. The study shows how an interest in printed news was created during a century and a half previous to the appearance of the earliest prototype of the newspaper, and thus how the English public was prepared for the first news-sheets.

The author discusses broadsides and pamphlets of personal news that was chiefly concerned with royalty and important personages: proclamations and other forms of official news; news published under partisan auspices; news of the affairs of state, including official transactions, rebellions, trials for treason, and wars; popular news, with its accounts of murders, miracles, prodigies, monsters, witchcraft, the plague, storms, earthquakes, and sports. He also considers translated news, ballad news, and news designed to inform and instruct, as well as news-writers, news-publishers, and the immediate forerunners of the news-periodicals.

Mr. Shaaber's study shows that in the period under consideration the concept of what constituted news was rather hazy and that the idea of the impartial reporting of current events did not exist. In most instances, therefore, the writing of news was more or less incidental to other purposes, such as the inculcation of morals, religion, patriotism. To some extent this coloring of news and the addition to news of moral, religious, or patriotic tags was no doubt due to the fact that both Church and State regarded all printed matter, including news, as dangerous because it might serve to disseminate heretical and seditious ideas. By undertaking to make reports of current events a source of edification to readers, the

writers and publishers of news doubtless hoped to escape the vigilance of the authorities.

The other interesting point brought out in this book is the fact that the publication of news, even in accordance with the primitive concept of it, was almost always a purely commercial undertaking; that is, printers and publishers issued such forms of news as they could sell. In this connection it is interesting to note that the types of popular news which made the strongest appeal were the same that are exploited by some newspapers today. Popular news is in essence sensational, in that, as the author writes, "its appeal is not to public spirit, or enlightened self-interest, or intelligent curiosity, or anything else but the sense of wonder".

In his research in the British Museum, the author discovered in MS. Harleian 389 seven more English corantos of 1621 printed in Holland, and hitherto unknown. This brings the total number of extant corantos of this kind to twenty-six, including the only one in this country, a coranto printed in Alkmaar, now in private hands in New York City, of which a photostat copy is on file in the New York Public Library. Evidently the existence of this coranto was not known to the author, because he does not include it in his list in the appendix.

The University of Wisconsin. WILLARD GROSVENOR BLEYER.

The Exterritoriality of Ambassadors in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By E. R. ADAIR, M.A., Associate Professor of History, McGill University. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1929. Pp. xii, 282. $8.00.)

IN recent years there has been a renewed interest in exterritoriality. This book, therefore, has an element of timeliness even though it is concerned particularly with conditions of three and four centuries ago. It shows that in times of unstable international relations, exterritoriality may be essential.

The theories of Roman law and natural law had during these centuries a strong influence over the minds of jurists and this is shown in their doctrines as to the treatment of ambassadors. While Wicquefort in the late seventeenth century gave a gossipy account of many diplomatic episodes, Professor Adair endeavors to give a more factual background to the transition of the ancient doctrine of inviolability of the ambassador's person into a form of exterritoriality. It is true that some of the writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century did cite precedents but usually to support their own preconceived doctrines rather than as a source of law. The influence of precedents as such became greater when in the late seventeenth century such writers as Bynkershoek made clear their significance.

In exemptions from civil jurisdiction, practice was erratic because political expediency often prevailed. Evidently immunity from criminal

jurisdiction was to a considerable degree recognized in practice before it was embodied in law.

Exemptions from taxes, customs duties, etc., perplexed the authorities in the seventeenth century as in later times. It was also a matter of doubtful propriety for a wife to accompany an ambassador on his mission, but after permanent embassies became common, families accompanied the ambassador. After many controversies it was recognized that religion might be officially established and the right of worship was assured within the embassy. The safety of couriers and dispatches was in theory established long before it was in practice. The exemption of servants from local jurisdiction was slowly secured, sometimes through legislation, but only after many and absurd claims and counter-claims.

The existence of the right of asylum was usually questioned. The extended *franchise du quartier* was never tolerated except with bad grace. Immunities were usually regarded as due to the person of the ambassador rather than derived from the theory that the ambassador's residence was a part of the territory of his home state which doctrine, from the time of Grotius, gradually received support.

Ambassadors naturally appealed in case of need of protection to the authority to which they were accredited, and their cases rarely came before the courts. Ambassadors sustained their appeals by citing exemptions and privileges which had been gained in other countries or in earlier times. Professor Adair maintains that "it was the painfully evolved conception of exterritoriality that made diplomatic intercourse in time of peace really possible". In view of the political, economic, and religious changes taking place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this seems to overemphasize the importance of exterritoriality in diplomatic intercourse. While not all would agree with Professor Adair's estimate of the value of works of different writers, all will agree that it is of real value that an estimate of writings rarely consulted in these days should be available. Specialized studies of the type of Professor Adair's will be particularly helpful in building up a correct appreciation of the development of institutions which have greatly modified international relationships.

An appendix gives a brief account of the practice of entertainment of ambassadors.

Harvard University. GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON.

Correspondentie van Willem III. en van Hans Willem Bentinck eersten Graaf van Portland. Uitgegeven door Dr. N. JAPIKSE Gedeelte I., *Het Archief van Welbeck Abbey.* Deel II. (The Hague: Nijhoff. 1928. Pp. xxx, 832.)

THIS volume presents the student with the promised publication of further materials drawn from the Welbeck Abbey archive of William Bentinck, First Earl of Portland (see review of vol. I., *Am. Hist. Rev.*,

XXXIII. 435). Again the historian is placed in Dr. Japikse's debt, even though some of the materials have already been exploited (Grew, *William Bentinck and William III.*, 1924). Letters to, and more notably from, foreign correspondents constitute the bulk of this volume, and testify further to the multifarious activities of Portland and to his position as "prime minister" of William III. They are chiefly of importance as setting forth matters of detail, often relatively insignificant, but ever helpful in rounding out the picture of the years from 1688 to Portland's retirement in 1699. Even beyond the latter date the earl's unofficial correspondence casts light both on the English and on the Dutch situation through 1711. Especially interesting are the details regarding the descent on England in 1688. They are set forth by correspondents in German states, by Van Leeuwen in his report of September, 1688, by Portland himself in his account of the march to London, and in the form of military and naval memoranda, the latter chiefly relating to Admiral Herbert. In view of the provenance of most of the letters Continental affairs and the minutiae of Continental politics are largely stressed throughout the volume. Military details are presented in profusion, notably with regard to the campaign in the Spanish Netherlands in 1692. The letters of Schomberg and Ruvigny afford information not merely on operations, but also on the condition of the troops, their pay, and items such as arrangements for the exchange of prisoners. Because of Portland's close association with the diplomacy of 1698 much incidental material of value in that connection appears. Brief epistles from Marlborough are also to be noted. Since many of the letters are to be classed as private rather than official it is natural that the casual item of curious but illuminating nature should appear many times. Portland and his friends are concerned with the acquisition of well-timbered Irish lands, the purchase of English coach horses, and the wines of France and the Low Countries. The wife of the Danish ambassador to France orders "la petite bierre d'Angleterre" for Madame the Duchess of Orleans and "du cidre pour la favorite". The Baron van Wassenaer-Duivenvoorde may bewail the effect of the heavy rains on his melons, but there is an infinite wealth of meaning in his accompanying lament at the loss of his trees in the storms of 1709. The storms have indeed hindered the enemy's siege operations, but the trees are costly to replace, though he commissions Portland to procure him some. Nevertheless, the baron's chief regret is "le temps qu'il faudra attendre pour se promener sous l'ombre".

Viewed from any angle this volume, like its predecessor, is rich in materials which have, moreover, been made readily accessible to the scholar. The general arrangement is that of the Welbeck Archive: a section each of correspondence with England, Holland, Spain and the Southern Netherlands, France, and Italy. In addition there are two appendixes, the first containing Portland's private correspondence after the death of William III.; the second composed of various documents ranging in date from 1673–1712. Dr. Japikse's scholarship is everywhere in evi-

dence. He has supplied a useful introduction (which appears in English translation). In the matter of dating, identification, and cross reference both in text and in index he is accurate and helpful to a degree. He further orients the user of the volume by a careful index of persons, a chronological list of materials published in the two volumes that comprise the series, and a complete list of the published and unpublished letters at Welbeck arranged under personal origin and date. Like its predecessor this volume is a model of editing and arouses lively hopes that the second series (of materials drawn from other sources than Welbeck) may soon appear.

Brown University. ROBERT H. GEORGE.

The Old Régime in France. By FRANTZ FUNCK-BRENTANO. Translated by Herbert Wilson. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1929. Pp. vii, 376. $6.00.)

M. FUNCK-BRENTANO's book appeared in French a few years ago as a part of a series which also numbers M. Bertrand's *Louis XIV.* and M. Gaxotte's *Révolution Française,* and, like its fellows, has an obvious conservative, not to say royalist, bias. With Benjamin Guérard's "Let us have greater confidence in the reason and justice of our fathers, and not be so ready to correct their judgments" as a text, M. Funck-Brentano proceeds to such generalizations as "Can we not see at a glance the beauty, social force, power of cohesion and life-giving energy of that social cell, the village community, itself sprung from the primitive cell of the family, and while increasing in size and development, still preserving its same character". The family is to the author the clue of the whole of the old régime; but the French family is of purely native origin, born apparently out of French national energy, and directed at building a stable society out of the Teutonic shambles of the eighth and ninth centuries. Feudalism and absolute monarchy are alike explicable in terms of the French family. M. Funck-Brentano's sentimental nationalism leads him into other hazardous generalizations: "When a vassal died, his lord extended his protection to the widow, and cared for the children; in him the widows and orphans found a guardian"; "The English nobility engaged in trade [and the French did not]; this difference was due to differences in origin. The English nobility had not taken its rise on the basis of the family, feudally; it was a nobility of conquerors imported from abroad." Moreover, the book is very badly composed; the scheme of chapters is clear enough (The Family, The Seigneurie, The King, The Court, and so on to The Town and Public Opinion) and pretty well imposed by the subject itself, but within each chapter the composition is scrappy, full of repetitions, even more wanting in unity than most social history.

Yet M. Funck-Brentano's book is a useful book. Like other bad books, it is useful in the training of the critical instincts. But M. Funck-

Brentano sees a part of the truth not distinguishable in many good books of the last century. Broadly speaking, historians until very recently have tended to condemn the old régime under Louis XV. (M. Funck-Brentano's main subject, though he does go back in spots to Clovis) as despotic, inefficient, outworn, exploiting the many for the sake of the few. Even Taine, who held eighteenth century political thought to be hopelessly wrong in its attempts at construction, seems to have accepted its criticism of the old régime at its face value. Now, it is becoming increasingly clear that, whatever its faults, the old régime was a natural growth, and that under it, even in the eighteenth century France—the *working* France of the bourgeois and the peasant—prospered. The old régime was an immensely complex thing, and in the pages of this book we at least realize that complexity. The author has certainly gone to the documents, and gives us authentic glimpses of daily life in town and country not to be found elsewhere in English. His chapter on the *lettres de cachet* illustrates the virtues of his work; we see the *lettres de cachet*, not solely as an instrument of political oppression, but rather as a means of enforcing family discipline, the authority of the *paterfamilias*, without unpleasant publicity damaging to family honor.

The translation is generally satisfactory, and wisely leaves most technical terms in the original French; but *taille* had better been left *taille* than translated "poll-tax", a term which might stand for the *taille personelle* but not for the *taille réelle*.

Harvard University. CRANE BRINTON.

England in the Nineteenth Century, 1801–1805. By A. F. FREMANTLE. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. 555. $5.50.)

THE author of this work—marked by real distinction of thought and style—states that "all account of several important parts of the Empire, notably Scotland, India and Australia has been omitted from this volume", modestly adding that, "chapters on these subjects, together with a chapter on the State of Literature, Art and Science, as well as the narrative up to 1810, have all been prepared, and will be issued should the present volume receive a favorable verdict from the public". In the opinion of the reviewer he should have no hesitation in proceeding with his task. The title, however, fails to indicate the scope of the work, for the present portion includes Ireland, Canada, and the West Indies, so that the study, together with what is further projected, should properly be entitled "Great Britain and the British Empire in the Nineteenth Century". The author, if he continues to cover only five years a volume, has a lengthy undertaking before him. However, it should be borne in mind that nearly half of the volume already issued, and presumably a goodly section of the second, are taken up with surveys of the life of the time in its various manifestations.

While histories by those who delve in their own way are always welcome, regardless of predecessors who have already tilled the field, a general but ample study of the period between the termination of Mahon and Lecky and the beginning of Spencer Walpole and M. Halévy is particularly needed. Mr. Fremantle's is one of the rather uncommon productions, of a scholarly nature, which it is a pleasure to read, especially the opening chapter on England at the Close of the Eighteenth Century; the second on The Government of England at the Close of the Eighteenth Century, and the first part of the third which presents with much understanding the complicated Irish situation. Perhaps, however, it seems invidious to single out these chapters for special notice when there are pages of fine flavor throughout the volume—on Canada and the West Indies, on the military and naval situation, as well as numerous vivid portraits of personages who occupy or more or less hastily cross, the stage. George III., for example, is painted in a light decidedly unfamiliar to the generation of Americans brought up on the old tradition of the Revolution. Perhaps, in the case of that sadly afflicted monarch and in the case of Pitt, the author has stressed a bit the lights favorable to them, just as he has accentuated the shadows in the case of Fox.

In general, though occasional comments would indicate conservative sympathies, Mr. Fremantle is discerning and just, as, for example, where he admits the force of some of Fiévée's indictments: an observer whom Sydney Smith drenched with the vials of sarcasm. Like Lecky, the present author does not appear to have used manuscript material to any great extent though he has read widely in the printed sources, in the historical literature, and in contemporary novels and poetry as well. In spite of a generally fresh and individual presentation there occur some inevitable repetitions of familiar stories and sayings. He admires the age "when men had great thoughts and were not afraid or ashamed to give them utterance", while at the same time he reports the growth of illicit stills and the humors of a debate on bull-baiting. He is not a slave to formalism in dealing with institutions which do not admit of precise definition—the quaint and anomalous features of the English government and the confusing state of political parties. In surveying with us the condition of English towns and the breathless efforts to meet impending invasion he leads us as candid and interested spectators into the period.

Now and again an unusual construction necessitated, on the part of the reviewer at least, a second reading. Running headlines of topics might have been helpful, though each of the seven chapters has an excellent analytical table of contents. Incidentally some of the chapters, all of which are a bit long, might have been broken up to insure more unity of subject matter. Also a few maps and plans would have made the stirring accounts of naval engagements easier to follow. Page references and bibliographies are inserted at the end of the volume. Among

the relevant books apparently not mentioned are: Aspinall, *Lord Brougham and the Whig Party;* Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh;* Mahan, *Life of Nelson,* and the Webbs' *Poor Law.* Slips or statements that may be called in question are rare. "Found it pay" (p. 49) seems odd. Scots possessed of "superiorities" unattached to land could vote (p. 111). Something may be said for legal fictions which are so scathingly condemned (p. 156). A misprint occurs (l.13 p. 401). But these are slight points in a production of much excellence.

The University of Michigan. ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Queen Louise of Prussia, 1776–1810. Translated from the German of GERTRUDE ARETZ by Ruth Putnam. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1929. Pp. xv, 353. $3.50.)

IN the long gray annals of the rise of the feudal military state of Brandenburg-Prussia to its present commanding position in Germany, the number of attractive and lovable human figures is uncrowded. But in this procession of selfish and grasping Hohenzollerns whose lives were given to advancing their interests by craft or cunning or force, there walks one as lovely in character as in feature, around whom there shines almost the radiance of a martyr's halo. It is Louise of Mecklenburg, Queen of Prussia in the years of her country's deepest humiliation. Her charming personality, her lovableness as wife and mother, and the patience and fortitude with which she bore her sorrows as queen have enshrined her in the hearts of her own people and enlisted the sympathetic interest of many who know distinctly no other character in the history of Prussia. Sheltered by such a love and loyalty, Queen Louise waited long for the high tribute of sober historical treatment. The researches of Paul Bailleu yielded such a rich store of letters to her and from her and of contemporary material about her, that he was able to write some twenty years ago what still stands as the definitive story of her life and a model biography in its own right. It is Bailleu's work that awaits translation, for no one has added appreciably to his amiable and objective treatment, least of all the modest volume by Madame Aretz which is scarcely up to the quality of Petersdorff's little volume in the *Frauenleben* series (1903).

This life by Madame Aretz in its English translation has been made by the publishers into a book of about 350 pages, although it contains approximately only sixty thousand words. Its real brevity set definite limits for the author to any adequate treatment of the times and events that played upon Louise in their interrelation with her character and career and posed for any biographer the problem of her life and development, a problem stated nowhere better than by Kleist in a letter to his sister, December 6, 1806, two months after the battle of Jena and the collapse of the Prussian army and State. "She [Louise] has made a greater gain from this war which she herself has called a misfortune than she would have made in a whole life time of peace and pleasure.

One can see her developing a truly queenly character. She has fully grasped the great issue at stake, she who but recently appeared to be absorbed heart and soul in the pleasures of dancing and riding. She is summoning around herself all our great men whom the king neglected and from whom alone can come our redemption. Indeed it is she who supports that which still stands after the collapse."

To Madame Aretz there is no such challenging problem. Personality explains all politics. The course of events in such a view loses its significance, and accuracy about such matters is not immaterial. The 1792 coronation in Frankfort is contemporary with the Reign of Terror, the allies in July, 1792, are depressed and fear defeat. Hardenberg is similar to Stein in intellect and tact (p. 250) on one page and quite dissimilar a few lines later and by Louise's own quoted letter (p. 322). Frederick William is "a craven monarch" (p. 244) and stupidly blind if it were true that before 1806 "neither Frederick William nor his diplomats saw in this growth [Napoleon's power] the slightest danger to Prussia". Haugwitz's mission and the events in the fall of 1805, the character of Beyme, the significance of the decision at Osterode, all of which have their importance and place even if condensed, in a life of Louise, are unmarked or inadequately presented.

The best parts of the book for an English speaking reader are the bits translated from Louise's own letters. The author is happiest in those places where she has elected to let Louise speak for herself. The only reservation here is that the letters to Alexander might give the unwary reader a false view of Louise's attitude toward the Czar, a possible misinterpretation that is not properly guarded against by the text. With all these marked limitations and in view of the want of any good recent biography of Queen Louise in English, this volume must stand as the best available for those who do not read German. Miss Putnam has put it into very readable English and added a brief introductory survey of Prussian history. A good index and sixteen portraits add to the value of the book.

The University of Minnesota. GUY STANTON FORD.

La Carrière Politique de Chateaubriand, de 1814 à 1830. Par EMMANUEL BEAU DE LOMÉNIE, Docteur ès Lettres. Two volumes. (Paris: Plon. 1929. Pp. 363, 339. 50 fr.)

THE vitality of royalism as a political force in France seems perennial. This two volume work on the career of Chateaubriand during the Bourbon Restoration, though written as a doctoral dissertation, is really a long defense not only of Chateaubriand as a politician, but of royalism as a political doctrine. It is, however, in the defense of Chateaubriand as a political thinker and political leader that the author's interest is centered.

He sets out to show that Chateaubriand was not "a morbid dilletante" and poseur, an "amateur de ruines" merely, but a man of sound political judgment whose ideas might have saved the monarchy. In fact M. de

Loménie goes so far as to maintain that "of all his contemporaries, Chateaubriand was in reality the one who understood best in what way and by what means the Revolution and the monarchic principle could best be harmonized". The earlier interpretations of Chateaubriand's political career, the author believes, are all inexact and unjust.

The career of Chateaubriand is followed year by year, often week by week, in elaborate detail. The account is based largely on Chateaubriand's correspondence, and on that of the standard memoirs and published correspondence of the period. Some use has been made of newspapers and of unpublished material in the Archives Nationales, in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, and in the archives of London, Vienna, and Rome. The author shows that from the beginning of the Restoration Chateaubriand believed that the only way of maintaining the monarchy in France was through a frank and loyal support of the Constitutional Charter of 1814. This accounts for his pamphlet, "De Buonaparte et des Bourbons" (1814) and for his loyal support of Louis XVIII.'s policy of conciliation in the first years of the Restoration. Through the columns of the *Conservateur,* Chateaubriand defended the king, and attacked the two forces that threatened the monarchy: the ultra-royalists under the direction of the king's brother, the Comte d'Artois, and the dissatisfied Napoleonic officials who still remained in the administration of the government. M. de Loménie has an interesting analysis of Chateaubriand's *Monarchie selon la Charte,* his most important political work. Written in 1815, it is a sort of parliamentary manual for the moderate royalists summarizing all the usual arguments on the rights of majorities, and on the necessity of a responsible ministry.

The author shows how the growing power of the ultra-royalists after 1820 alarmed Chateaubriand, and how after 1824 he went into the opposition and through the columns of the *Journal des Débats* carried on a running criticism of the policies of Villèle and Charles X. The influence of Chateaubriand from 1824 to 1830 proved stronger in opposition to the government than it had been earlier in support of the government. The example of a known friend of royalty who had suffered exile for his king but who now found it impossible to support the king in power was a severe blow for the ministry of Villèle. No one could accuse Chateaubriand of being a Jacobin or a political rebel. Chateaubriand saw from the time that Charles X. ascended the throne that a revolution, and a "new edition of the Charter", were almost inevitable.

Several chapters are devoted to Chateaubriand's place in the foreign affairs of the Restoration; to his career as ambassador to Berlin, to London, to the Congress of Verona, and to Rome. There is likewise a detailed chapter on the Spanish War of 1823.

M. de Loménie, in the central argument of his work, blames the royalists for not accepting Chateaubriand's program for a course of political action midway between reaction and revolution. The same thing might be said of their failure to follow the program of Royer-Col-

lard, the Duc de Broglie, and the group known as the Doctrinaires. In reality, compromise was difficult for the Revolution had split France into two nations, the one aristocratic, royalist, and Catholic, the other bourgeois, liberal, and freethinking. The reviewer would disagree with the author, first in believing that a compromise between these two Frances was possible so soon after Waterloo, second in believing that Chateaubriand was the most or even one of the most able political thinkers of the Restoration, and finally in believing that it was a political compromise between royalism and constitutionalism that was needed. In regard to this last, it would seem that the deepest problem of the Restoration, as of later nineteenth century France, was the clerical problem, and that the disastrous outcome of fifteen years of Bourbon rule was due to the religious policy of the government even more than to its reactionary political policy.

This study contains a mass of details about the period of the Restoration though its usefulness as a reference book is severely restricted because of its lack of an index.

Oberlin College. FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

The Rise of the House of Rothschild. The Reign of the House of Rothschild. By Count EGON CAESAR CORTI. Translated from the German by Brian and Beatrice Lunn. Two volumes. (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation. 1928, 1929. Pp. xii, 432; x, 457. $5.00 each.)

THE vogue of his diverse essays in their field might rank Count Corti among the favored "new biographers" did not the style, the titles, the very jackets, of these stoutish gray volumes show his aversion for the devices of that fraternity. Rather, like most historians at some time or other, he would be a "revisionist". "The ignoring by historians of the rôle played by the Rothschild family in the history of the nineteenth century", is a professed reason for his work. The need of a thorough revision of nineteenth century history is granted, but it is difficult to concur in the dictum that the crux of the matter is historical neglect of the Rothschilds. Even the family, it seems, have not felt the situation required opening their archives to their historical protagonist. Perchance the London "Firm" would have been courteously helpful to Count Corti, as they were to the reviewer, and still he could have stressed his entire freedom from influencing bias. Yet he seems not to have done *any personal* research in centers so vital for his work as London and Paris. In consequence, his handling of so crucial an episode for the Rothschilds as their circumventing Napoleon's guinea-smuggling scheme, illustrates how forced dependence upon slight and dubious evidence has entailed sheer guessing and partial or garbled accounts. Nevertheless the range of printed sources cited is comprehensive. Good use has been made of public archives at Vienna, Berlin, and Frankfurt-am-Main, and of some private papers, such as those of a Cavour agent, kinsman of Corti. Mu-

seums, too, have been searched for the illustrations which so enhance the work's value.

There is an inherent fascination to this ample story of schemings and social climbings, of momentous affairs of finance and *haute politique*—the sage and lucky strategy of a family steadily pursuing in unity the canny advice of their humble, unlettered founder. The initial volume recounts the doings of Meyer Amschel, and—after his death in 1812—of his five sons until the revolution of 1830. It traces the "Rise of the Rothschilds" from the cramped old "house with the red shield" in the Frankfurt ghetto into the grand estates and art-filled mansions, befitting the new-got armorials of consuls and imperial barons of the second and later generations. The second volume first treats of the "dynasty's" growing interests and prestige up to 1870, then closes with an epilogue on the altered status of today. Both volumes may be criticized for inequable handling of certain branches of the house, and of periods or phases of its activities. Also the entire synthesis is based too patently upon the traditional crises of Continental history rather than upon the crucial epochs of the family itself.

Tested historically the positive values of Corti's work seem to be the use of fresh sources—notably Austrian—and the detailed stressing of the rôle of great financiers in last century Europe. Count Corti has treated the big banker not just as a vital personality, and a builder of a huge private fortune, but also as a promoter of general prosperity, checking panics, aiding new industries, promoting pioneer railways or lines of ships, a statesman, withal. Besides aiding Austria in the settlement of 1823, the Rothschild "services" during the so-called Metternich era, included furnishing funds for interventions in the Italies and in Spain, providing Bourbon compensation to émigrés through a refunding of the French debt, besides a variety of Papal, Prussian, and other loans. But years of close relations with Metternich need not imply that Rothschild politics were reactionary. In Spain they aided Liberals, not Carlists. Baron James served, with favor, all governments of France but the Empire. The London line aided, well, Liverpool and Disraeli, but favored "Reforms" and, after finally winning Jewish parliamentary rights, sat as pro-Irish Liberals. They did much for the peaceful recognition of Belgium, although they opposed aggressive nationalism and militant schemes generally, except possibly the Crimean War. While their part in the Mehemet Ali crisis, and perhaps in averting other war threats, is overstated by Corti, nevertheless he gives pertinent evidence of the peace-conserving rôle of high finance.

Offsetting such positive contributions could be cited some factual slips. Thus Count Corti has not freed himself fully from legendary misconceptions of the Congress of Vienna, or even the tendency to start all revolutions in France. But where he is most prone to disregard the verdict of his own data is in docilely overrating the reactionary policies and actual influence of Metternich. If Count Corti elects to build much

of his narrative around a traditionalized Metternich he can hardly expect an unchallenged entry in the revisionist Valhalla. Nevertheless because his stimulating, painstaking work should aid others in thoroughly revising nineteenth century history, it well merits both its general vogue and the honest commendation of students.

The University of Kansas. F. E. MELVIN.

Staatsstreichpläne Bismarcks und Wilhelms II., 1890–1894. Von EGMONT ZECHLIN, Privatdozent an der Universität Marburg. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche. 1929. Pp. 225. 5 M.)

BISMARCK'S readiness to tamper with the institutions of the empire he had founded is pretty well established in this brief study, based on voluminous published materials and on several hitherto unpublished documents culled from various archives. The Chancellor's simple conception of the state as a "permanent-identische Persönlichkeit", to whose need of political solidarity institutions as such were of wholly subordinate value, illustrates anew the staleness of Fascist theory. The Reichstag, elected by direct general suffrage, on which he had insisted during the formative period as an antidote to separatist tendencies, lost validity in his eyes when it became an arena of party conflicts obstructing the course of measures he believed necessary for the welfare of the state. His remedy was derived from the theory that the imperial constitution was a creation of the rulers of the German states, which could be annulled by them and made over to secure a more pliable legislative body. The provision of adequate defense against external military threats and against the internal menace he saw in the development of the Social Democratic party were to him requirements for the fulfillment of which he was prepared to go to any lengths. The apparent impossibility, in 1890, of obtaining adequate measures for these purposes through parliamentary methods is shown to have impelled him into preparations for a *coup d'état*, even at the cost of provoking civil disturbances and bloodshed.

Especially significant is the fact that the author takes issue with the practice of discounting utterances by Bismarck inconsistent with traditional interpretations of his policies as careless passing remarks or tactical hints without serious intent. Such a view of Bismarck's dark suggestions, he says, "repeatedly comes into conflict with indubitable evidence that, where possible on the same day, he had made preparations for carrying them out in the contemplated eventuality" (p. 27).

The reluctance of William II. to go through with the plans of 1890, to which he had at first given his approval, appears as the central factor in the clash which resulted in Bismarck's dismissal. This relegation of all other differences of opinion between the two men to the rôle of pretexts seems an undue simplification of the issue, but the reality and significance of this conflict are convincingly presented. Ironically enough, a divergence of views over a similar project for a *coup d'état*,

with the positions of Emperor and Chancellor reversed, is shown to have led to the fall of Caprivi. Within four and a half years, William II. had been converted to Bismarck's ideas on the gravity of the socialist peril and the means of dealing with it; while Caprivi, who had been designated by Bismarck for the office of Prussian Minister President, as the energetic general to carry through his plans, stood out against extraordinary measures. Despite his elimination, the execution of the project was deferred, though not wholly lost to sight. Truly, the tranquillity of Europe in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, halcyon by contrast with our present troubled times, appears on close examination to have rested on no more stable foundations in domestic than in international politics.

Washington, D. C. JOSEPH V. FULLER.

Fürst Bülow und England, 1897–1909. Von WILLY BECKER. (Greifswald: L. Bamberg. 1929. Pp. 410. 14 M.)

WHY was it that Germany toward the turn of the last century lost her friendship with England and sank into a painful position, diplomatically isolated except for her weak and uncertain allies? The question has been hotly argued in Germany by many writers, Tirpitz, Herzfeld, Brandenburg, Meinecke, Haller, Bächtold, Eugene Fischer, Admiral Galster, Rothfels, Roloff, and others. One of the latest and ablest to speak is Willy Becker. He gives a threefold answer: the Bagdad Railway, the rejection of the Chamberlain alliance proposals, and the creation of the German navy. By the Bagdad Railway and by his Near East policy of supporting Austria, Bülow antagonized Russia and opened Germany to the danger of the land power of the Franco-Russian alliance; by rejecting the Chamberlain offers and by supporting Tirpitz's naval program he antagonized England. With England neutral or friendly Germany would have had nothing to fear from the Franco-Russian armies. But by bringing against Germany a combined land power and sea power he sealed Germany's doom.

How was it that Bülow came to make such a colossal and tragic mistake? Becker finds the answer primarily in Bülow's belief from 1897 to 1904 that Germany must become a sea power. He quotes Bülow's memoranda: "Sea power is imperial power"; "An over-seas policy can be carried out only by an adequate navy"; and other phrases to the same effect. But taken in their context these seem to the reviewer more a repetition of obvious platitudes in connection with special cases in Samoa, China, and South Africa, than clear evidence of an all-dominating motive in Bülow's policy during his first years at the Foreign Office. Becker seems to have exaggerated this naval aim and to have minimized Bülow's other motives: his irritation at England's lack of readiness to make "compensations" in the colonial world; his conviction during the Boer War that Germany held the balance in the world—was *arbiter mundi*—and that she would continue to do so, because he held it to be an

axiomatic truth that England would never come to a friendly understanding with France and with Russia. Becker, to be sure, mentions these motives, but subordinates them to the naval aim as the explanation of Bülow's failure to grasp the golden opportunity of British friendship. By December, 1904, Bülow saw his mistake. He changed his attitude on the navy and began to oppose Tirpitz because he saw the antagonizing effect in England and the isolating effect on Germany. But by this time the damage was done. Nor could he successfully combat Tirpitz. Hence his resignation in 1909, due much more to his inability to curb the German navy program than, as generally supposed, to his defeat in the Reichstag over a finance bill or to the Kaiser's personal coolness. In this account of Bülow's later policy, Becker is certainly correct.

Incidentally Becker seems to give more weight to Bülow's own personal influence on policy and less to that of Holstein, to whom some recent writers appear to ascribe a mysterious, almost legendary, power. Nor does Becker think Bülow was greatly influenced by German public opinion; on the contrary, he says the Chancellor controlled public opinion, and controlled it so effectively that the German people never realized, until the World War, the tragic folly of his foreign policy.

Whether one agrees or not with all Becker's conclusions, one must reckon his volume as an important contribution to some of the most significant phases of Germany's pre-war policy. It is also notable for its lucidity, effective presentation, and thorough acquaintance with all the most recent documentary material as well as with the controversial literature. It will not add to Bülow's reputation as a statesman, but will reenforce the warning, as important today as ever, of the danger of allowing naval rivalry to develop between two great powers.

Harvard University. SIDNEY B. FAY.

Das Kaiserreich am Scheideweg: Bassermann, Bülow und der Block. Nach unveröffentlichten Papieren aus dem Nachlass Ernst Bassermanns. Von THEODOR ESCHENBURG, eingeleitet von Gustav Stresemann. (Berlin: Verlag für Kulturpolitik. 1929. Pp. xvi, 304. 10 M.)

THIS volume by Theodor Eschenburg is a study of the political career of Ernst Bassermann, the National Liberal leader during the period when the German empire, confronted with the problems of internal reform, stood at the crossroads of political development. Stresemann's splendid introduction to this book was written in July, 1928, and concludes with the hope that this study will bring the great crisis in imperial development closer to the present generation. The entire Bassermann archives were placed at the disposal of the author. He has also examined the principal sources for this period including the material of Stresemann, August Weber, the two assistants of Bülow, Loebell and Hammann, and the unpublished diary of Weizsäcker, and has used to good advantage the works of Linschmann, Kalkoff, Dix, Vogel, and others.

Bassermann, a member of an old family of Mannheim, was one of the most important parliamentary leaders in the reign of William II. It is interesting to note the importance which the author ascribes to his life as a corps student and later as a reserve officer. Stresemann questions the influences of the corps and on the second point quotes Bassermann: "No party has more faithfully supported the monarchy and the Kaiser than my party. But never has the Kaiser considered it necessary to speak even a word with me." In connection with Bennigsen's estimate of Bassermann, the author should have cited the letter of Bennigsen to Hammacher, July 11, 1899.

The author makes a careful analysis of the government and parties before the formation of the Block, the election of 1907, and the subsequent coalition of conservatives and liberals under Bülow. He reveals the effects of Bassermann's indiscretion in attacking the Anglophile policy of Tschirschky, the secretary of state for foreign affairs. The author also presents the disunity of the liberal groups, the selfishness of the conservatives and the tactical moves of the clericals. Especially convincing is his presentation of the conservative opposition to the reform of the Prussian franchise in March, 1908.

The principal contribution of the author is on Bülow's handling of the *Daily Telegraph* affair, the attitude of the parties toward the government draft of the finance bill and the overthrow of Block and Chancellor by the conservatives. The first draft of Bülow's reply to the National Liberal interpellation, as well as the official stenographic report of his speech which exposed the Kaiser, are printed in an appendix. The author quotes from the unpublished diary of Weizsäcker to prove that the abdication of the Kaiser was discussed in the Bundesrat. From this source we also learn that the king of Württemberg was of the opinion that the Kaiser and the Chancellor should have their attention called to the danger of revolution. From the evidence presented it seems incredible that Bassermann should have taken such a shortsighted view of this crisis. The author has not stressed the importance of the statement of William II. that "one of the chief actors in connection with the November declaration is, according to my information, the leader of the N. L. Dr. Bassermann" (G. P., XXIV. no. 8272).

The *Daily Telegraph* affair was the beginning of the Block crisis which arose over the finance act of 1909 and revealed for the first time the fundamental weaknesses of the bourgeois parties of the empire. Although the author's criticisms of the clerical and conservative leaders are in many cases not justified, he describes accurately the financial reforms of the new conservative-clerical majority in the Reichstag. This was indeed the last great success of the conservatives in the empire and its immediate results are seen in the socialist victory in the 1912 election. Bassermann and the National Liberals also failed to take advantage of the crisis to unite the liberals. Their failure was due, however, to the very character of German liberalism which possessed too much individual-

ism and too many factions ever to form a united party. As for the National Liberals, loyalty to the imperial government was one of their dominant characteristics and they could never have become the party of opposition.

In 1909 the empire was at the crossroads of political development, but Bassermann and the liberals passed by the way to parliamentary government. Bassermann lived to respond nobly to the call to arms in 1914 and a gracious fate spared him from witnessing the internal and external collapse of the empire.

Stanford University. RALPH HASWELL LUTZ.

Léopold of the Belgians. By Comte LOUIS DE LICHTERVELDE. Translated by Thomas H. Reed and H. Russel Reed. (New York: Century Company. 1929. Pp. xi, 366. $4.00.)

"ALL that I ask", said Leopold II., "is that they do me justice twenty years after my death." Leopold died in 1909; the book in hand bears the date 1929. Coincidence? Or design? In either case, there is no doubt as to its purpose. The chief reason for presenting it in an English version (the original came out in 1927), say the translators, is because it effectively corrects a false impression of one of the most striking figures of recent history.

Whether it will really succeed in the degree claimed for it remains to be seen. If it fail, however, it will be through no fault of the author. No biographer could do more for his subject than Count Lichtervelde has done for Leopold II. His sincerity and honesty are above question; but, however scrupulously he may have endeavored to observe the canons, the advocate shows up through the historian, and the general effect of his work is that of an *apologia*. He feels that Leopold was misunderstood, misrepresented, calumniated. It is time he were vindicated. But in his desire to do justice, he frequently comes near to overdoing it; is a little too ready to excuse and explain away. If he admits faults, he does not dwell on them. For the delinquencies of the man there is the mantle of charity; for the mistakes of the ruler, overwhelming reparation in great and lasting services to his country.

Even the Congo, with its checkered record, becomes, when viewed in perspective, a monument to enlightened statesmanship and disinterested patriotism. Not for his own sake did Leopold found an empire in Africa, but for Belgium's and for the good of humanity. He had no ulterior motive, no selfish end to seek. If he exploited the Congo, it was not for personal gain. He "only valued gold for the great and beautiful things he could do with it". The charges of avarice were inspired by envy. Certain abuses are admitted, but palliated as "incidental", no greater than ordinarily occur in colonial settlement. "The circumstances would have justified many more than were committed." Tales of cruelty are grossly exaggerated. If force were used, well, "the foundation of an

empire is not a job for tender minds". Time has disposed of many of the charges. "The errors of Leopold II. have been atoned for and the good he did lives and multiplies itself."

However the account may stand with the Congo, there is one claim that is incontestable, the claim to the gratitude of Belgium for untiring service in the cause of national defense. At a time when most of his subjects indulged the delusion of diplomatic security and were obsessed by the fear of "militarism", when a responsible official could say that the status of the Belgian army should be that of an army destined not to fight, the king sensed the danger and uttered the warning. Incessantly, in the face of stubborn and often surly opposition, he insisted upon the need of defense and the duty of personal service. Fortifications were authorized, rather reluctantly; but the service law was granted him only on his deathbed. Five years later Belgium received a convincing proof of the soundness of his judgment. Such resistance as she was able to offer the Germans was due chiefly to his foresight and his determination

Such is Leopold II. as Count Lichtervelde portrays him, a man of remarkable energy and great capacity for affairs, keen, direct, daring and adventurous, bold in design, skillful in execution, relentless in the pursuit of his aims, tenacious to the point of obstinacy, indifferent to praise or blame, imperious, inexorable; a monarch with a lofty conception of prerogative and likewise a strong sense of duty, with high ambitions for his country and an inflexible will to realize them, a "patriot King".

To us the picture seems somewhat idealized, and not altogether convincing. Nevertheless, the figure, while far from heroic, is strong, positive, arresting.

Brown University. THEODORE COLLIER.

The Franco-Russian Alliance, 1890–1894. By WILLIAM LEONARD LANGER, Assistant Professor of History in Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, volume XXX.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1929. Pp. viii, 455. $4.50.)

PROFESSOR LANGER'S book is in effect a continuation of Dr. J. V. Fuller's *Bismarck's Diplomacy at its Zenith*, for in spite of the dates in the title, it really begins with the accession of William II., and provides a comprehensive survey of European politics for the next six years. Its rich contents will surprise those whose knowledge of the early nineties is limited to the *Livre jaune* of 1918 on the Franco-Russian alliance and *Die Grosse Politik*, for the author was able to use the documents in the Vienna archives for the years 1890–1895 and has also brought together an enormous amount of information from the contemporary biographical, pamphlet, and periodical literature. If certain gaps in the story, which are clearly indicated, will have to be filled from *Documents diplomatiques français* and the Russian and Italian publications now announced, it is the details and not the essentials which remain unknown. One can only

wish for equally satisfactory studies on other periods of the pre-war years. Mr. Langer is to be especially congratulated on the skill with which he makes the reader see the situation as it presented itself at any given moment to a particular government rather than as it appears to the historian who knows what is going to happen. Another excellent feature is the impression created of the principal actors. Although no formal character sketches are drawn, we are able to visualize the slow-thinking Alexander III., able to take only one step at a time, and his hard-headed minister Giers, the resourceful Frenchmen Freycinet and Ribot, Crispi constantly alarmed by ill-founded rumors and illogical deductions, Kálnoky who was also subject to alarms but not unduly excited by them, Salisbury with touch as sure as Rosebery's was uncertain, and the three Germans, the disconcerting William II., honest Caprivi, and easy-going Marschall, who was far from displaying as foreign minister the brilliant qualities he later exhibited as ambassador to the Porte. Throughout the period, the personal equation counted for quite as much as long views and calculated policy.

The Franco-Russian alliance was "the product of the general international situation", and not, as sometimes averred, the result of a plot to recover Alsace-Lorraine and seize the Straits. So far from abetting *revanche* were the Russians that they made the alliance only because and when they were convinced that the French were not planning to attack Germany; in fact they wished the question of Alsace-Lorraine kept open because it ensured that France would not ally with England. The French took scant interest in Russia's rivalry with Austria and were not disposed to sacrifice their traditional policy of maintaining the Ottoman Empire. Why, then, should an alliance have been made? Partly, no doubt, because both France and Russia were suspicious of William II. and feared his supposedly belligerent designs. But special circumstances explain the successive stages in the development of the alliance. Alexander III., to whom the idea was anathema, consented to the political agreement of 1891 as a reply to the noisy renewal of the Triple Alliance, with which England proclaimed her complete sympathy; in other words, as an escape from isolation. In Mr. Langer's opinion, Germany was well advised in not renewing the "reinsurance" treaty *tel quel*, but he leaves no doubt that a blunder was committed in not agreeing to some kind of bargain, as Giers fervidly desired. It seems to have been the strong attitude taken by France against England during the Siamese crisis of 1893, together with the manifestations of German friendliness, which led the czar to accept the military convention desired by France. The alliance, in spite of its formal provisions directed against the Central Powers, was in the Russian mind a weapon to be used against England. And the same thing was largely true of the French, for being protected against Germany, they were in a position to dispute the control of the Mediterranean with England and to keep the Egyptian question alive. Throughout these years the Mediterranean dominated European politics, for both France and

Russia knew of the 1887 agreements and were determined to smash them. Hence on the one hand the constant efforts of France to seduce Italy from the Triple alliance, and on the other the large expansion of the British navy, which Mr. Langer, in some of his most interesting pages, links up clearly with the problem of the Middle Sea, where the Russians established a squadron in 1893. The Germans do not appear to have been seriously alarmed by the Franco-Russian alliance, which they almost welcomed as a restraint on France, and refused to take seriously rumors of a Russian descent on the Straits. The new situation seemed to them favorable for resuming Bismarck's policy of the '*zwei Eisen*', and they proceeded to play their 'free hand' with relish.

How the problem was transformed in the decade before 1914 lies beyond the scope of this book, but Mr. Langer concludes that the alliance was from first to last a Russian instrument for which France paid dearly: enormous loans, desertion in the hour of crisis (Fashoda, Tangier, Agadir), and ultimately the Great War. One might add that Germany's alliance with Austria-Hungary was, in the end, an equally bad bargain.

The University of Chicago. BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy. By OSCAR JÁSZI. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1929. Pp. xxiv, 488. $3.00.)

"PROFESSOR JÁSZI'S study of Austria-Hungary is an analysis of a tragic failure in civic cohesion, of fatal inability to develop a central political loyalty of a type comparable to that found in many contemporary and competing states" (*e.g.*, Switzerland). In this way Charles E. Merriam introduces this analysis of the Hapsburg family state, in which Professor Jászi describes the historical background, the centrifugal as opposed to the centripetal forces, the irredentas, and the lack of any successful efforts for averting the dissolution of the Hapsburg monarchy. That dissolution was "not a mechanical but an organic process" and was due chiefly to the obsolete theories and short-sighted policies of the Hapsburg administration, and the contemptuous and mistaken attitude of its leading statesmen toward their own humble subjects and the subject-nationalities. The old feudal aristocracy could not or would not solve the problem "to keep together this variegated mosaic of nations and peoples and to fill it with the feeling of a common solidarity". "All the other nations even the Germans" played a secondary rôle to the Magyars "in the great experiment". The World War was simply the last of many crises, the occasion and not the cause of that dissolution which was not inevitable had its true solution been faced: freedom in autonomy for all the nations in the monarchy.

The real pillars of Austrian internationalism were the dynasty, the army, the aristocracy, the Roman Catholic Church, the bureaucracy, capitalism (Jews mainly), the free trade unity, and even socialism. These

forces did not present a united front, the first four conflicted with the last four and these latter among themselves. At best they were "isolated bulwarks" but "not a complete system of fortification". But the feudal latifundia widened the gap between dominant and suppressed peoples, the conflict between the Austrian and the Hungarian crowns grew more and more bitter and various national awakenings came not only to the "people with a history" (Italians, Czechs, etc.) but to those without (Slovaks, Slovenes, etc.).

Austria, though with little or no economic unity, is pictured as moving toward a national state, with the Germans yielding power to the other nationalities. Hungary with real economic unity was led by its feudal nobility, toward strict magyarization in theory; in fact, artificial. Austrian equality without political reform as well as Hungarian hegemony equally led to sure destruction. "The dynastic epic in Austria and the feudal epic in Hungary finally pushed the two dominating nations into a conflict, even more fatal than the one that they waged with their nationalities." As these nationalities realized that their hope for their reasonable national independence was fallacious, the idea of national consciousness inspired perhaps by propaganda from outside, became stronger. Separation was born of desperation.

The Pseudo-Irredentas (German, Czech, Polish, Ruthenian Separatism) were all naturally loyal peoples estranged needlessly by the stupidity of the governing classes; in the case also of the True Irredentas (Jugoslav and Roumanian) enlightened statesmanship might have averted separation. Only the Italian Irredenta was an insoluble problem. Jászi studiously regards the legitimate cultural aspirations of the non-German and non-Magyar peoples, and discusses even the Sarajevo assassination temperately though searchingly with scant comfort to those who would out-Aesop Aesop by wolf to lamb arguments. As to war guilt, "Austria fixed the date of the conflict and Germany did not stop her ally" (p. 428). The Hapsburg statesmen themselves felt that war was inevitable; Conrad among many, even Francis Ferdinand himself. Jászi warns against dangers from the oppression of minorities in the new states and suggests a moderate revision of the frontiers.

One correction is needed: Irridenta (p. 454). As to index, maps, bibliography, footnotes, here the first is adequate, the second lacking, the third unannotated but reasonably full and explained by "remarks on the literature of the subject", studiedly fair, the last comparatively few but exceedingly valuable, particularly in their discussions of recent writers: Fay (p. 126, n. 7), Szekfu (p. 239, n. 10), Kisenmann (p. 338), etc.

Cambridge. ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

Témoins: Essai d'Analyse et de Critique des Souvenirs de Combattants édités en Français de 1915 à 1928. Par JEAN NORTON CRU. (Paris: Les Étincelles. 1929. Pp. viii, 727. 100 fr.)

To every student of the realities of modern warfare this book will be an indispensable guide, to every historian it will be an extraordinary example of indefatigable and meticulous scholarship. The work is addressed primarily to historians and is offered as a guide to a body of material otherwise confusing and scattered. It aims to be a help in the utilization of some of that enormous body of first hand evidence which never in past wars has been available for studying war. This new record comes from men who served in the trenches, most of whom were adult and intellectual, often members of the liberal professions trained in observing and recording realities. Professor Cru himself is in the same category as the authors whom he considers, a combattant from 1914 until the end, who, like so many others, approached the phenomenon of war with scientific curiosity, and who in the very trenches in 1915 began the careful consideration of the published experiences of other soldiers. It will be a bold critic indeed who lightly combats the conclusions based upon four years of personal experience and twelve years painstaking and enthusiastic research.

Professor Cru undertakes to determine the historical value of some three hundred volumes written by French soldiers. With one or two exceptions he rejects all volumes by writers above the rank of captain on the correct theory that "only those who lived night and day in the trenches know modern warfare". He insists that "to comprehend war without having seen the essential mechanism of the firing line the military historian must eliminate from his soul all his reading which gave him the traditional conception of battle. This purely legendary conception is an article of faith for all the high command, for ninety-nine per cent. of the staff, for all the soldiers *prior* to their actual experience." He points out that the staff does not know war because it is fed with false reports which are drawn up with the view to avoid reprimand, and that the military specialists write their history on the basis of these doctored reports. The war books under consideration can not serve as a corrective to official reports, but they can reveal some of the realities and they are of particular value in presenting psychological facts. It is true that the historians Hanotaux and Palat have utilized some of these books, but they have done so without adequately applying the principles of historical criticism and have, in consequence, used some of the least trustworthy. "La raison: les historiens veulent des faits, le plus possible; les narrateurs qui en donnent le plus sont toujours les absents et les hâbleurs."

The books are classified according to character and are then discussed individually in their classification. For each author considerable bibliographical data is provided, his age, civil status, military biography, regimental and divisional number, the length of time he was at the front.

Accounts written by men of the same or neighboring units have been compared with each other. Each text has been subjected to a minute study of all military details, dates and places being verified from maps and the available official data. The critic aims to detect all first hand evidence and to exclude everything else. The results in each case are summarized with a view to indicating the character of the book, the author's point of view, and the book's value as a source. In this evaluation care is taken to indicate what parts may be good and what bad.

Like a good historian Cru is looking for accounts which give precise information which can be checked up, which were not written under literary, journalistic, or popular influence after the event, but which really show the soldier's state of mind when face to face with war. He condemns both the heroic legend and the emphasis on sensational horrors in the interests of pacifism. Both are untrue. Literary quality, prizes and academic crowns, large sales and frequent new editions make no impression on his critique. The majority of truthful war books have not been popular. The literary men are too much interested in literature to devote their pens to writing accurate historical sources. Barbusse and Remarque are dismissed rather contemptuously, and the palm is awarded to Maurice Genevoix. It is Cru's conclusion that the accurate accounts of the war corroborate the views of realist heretics like Ardant du Picq and Ivan Bloch.

Williams College. RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

The Biography of the Late Marshal Foch. By Major-General Sir GEORGE ASTON, K.C.B. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xxvi, 483. $5.00.)

WITHIN a few months of Foch's death, the author explains, he was requested to undertake this biography. The task was the more difficult because Foch's own papers were not at his disposal, and the material from published French sources proved relatively scanty—even in regard to the year 1918 " very little contemporary evidence on Foch from the French point of view . . . is as yet accessible ". For the important years from 1908 onward the author has had to turn frequently to the diaries of Sir Henry Wilson—an entertaining but particularly risky repository. All published material, however, has been thoroughly canvassed and the book may fairly claim to present most of the facts now available. It may well be described as an obituary biography: fair and moderate in tone and with not a little thoughtful discrimination in the reasoned conclusions the writer offers,—but nevertheless a eulogy rather than a critical historical study. This is the more noticeable at times in that the author evidently knows so much more than he thinks fit to bring forward, and has smoothed over rough angles which he evidently could have handled very adequately.

Rather unfortunately, too, the author has embroidered into the course of his chronological narrative texts chosen from Foch's military writings

and has sought to unfold the gradual development of character by moralizing digressions elaborated upon these texts. Risky in any event, the method is peculiarly out of place in the case of Foch, who was never particularly interested in himself, but simple and unpretentious in his way of life and not given to attitudes and postures of any sort. It leads also to conventionalities of thought which are at times misleading. "There is no doubt that young Foch dreamed constantly of the future glory of France. . . . He saw himself her champion, her defender, and one of those who would help restore her former greatness at a time when all around him was chaos and despair." All the evidence the author has painstakingly collected suggests strongly that no such notion ever crossed Foch's mind. He was capable and hard-working, absorbed in the study of his profession and singularly detached to things outside it,—and with a clear and matter of fact appreciation of all realities—including his own relatively inconspicuous position in France before 1914.

To some readers the chapters dealing with Foch's pre-war career will be of particular interest. The son of a *fonctionnaire* in modest circumstances, he entered upon his career with no advantage beyond the triple schooling of the Polytechnique, Fontainebleau, and Saumur. Seven years service in an artillery regiment brought him an appointment to the École de Guerre; he graduated number 4 in his *Promotion,* in 1887—ætat 36. This gave him a post on a divisional staff and attracted the attention of his superior officers to his abilities. One of them presently brought him to the État-Major in Paris. In 1895, at the age of 44, Foch was still a major and had had no opportunity to distinguish himself in the army; but for long he had been known to those immediately around him as a thorough and rather original student of military theory, and this near-by reputation brought him (in that year) the appointment of associate professor in the École de Guerre. His success was immediate: within a year he was made chief instructor and promoted to lieutenant colonel, and his lectures appealed to military opinion far outside the walls of his classrooms. In 1900 the progress of the anticlerical conflict brought in a more *républicain* general (Bonnal) as commandant; Foch was relieved and not given his promotion. He refused to take this tragically, and ridiculed other officers who *poussaient des cris* of martyrdom; and the next years of regimental duty were employed in publishing his two famous volumes: *Principes de la Guerre* (1903) and *Conduite de la Guerre* (1905). The effect of these was to establish firmly his reputation (within the army), and to lead Clemenceau to accept him as commandant of the École de Guerre in 1908; he had already been promoted to brigadier general and brought to Paris on the État-Major. Général de Division in 1911, Foch was given command of the VIIIth Army Corps (Bourges) in 1912, and in August, 1913, transferred to the more important XXth Corps at Nancy. He was not, however, one of those selected for an army command in case of war. One reason given (by another writer) was that he was considered unable to adjust himself to the highly

organized staff machinery of a large command; and in fact, whether by chance or by design, none of the posts he was given during the war involved handling a large administrative staff.

General Aston notes that Foch had no hand in the compilation of Plan XVII.—and a comparison of dates shows that during the six years preceding the outbreak of the war he held no appointment in the directing organization of the General Staff. It was precisely in these years that the acquaintance with Sir Henry Wilson developed; evidently their relations had a very different significance from that commonly assumed; and instead of being an "insider" Foch seems to have been in opposition to some of the views that prevailed in higher quarters. By his teaching he had no doubt an intellectual influence on the younger generation of officers; but he held none of the posts responsible for war plans and military policy.

The author's comment that Foch took no part in politics is by no means a mere conventional phrase. Even the fact of being sidetracked from 1900 to 1906 did not align him with any faction. Moreover, the more conservative régime previous to 1900 had not pushed him forward to "promotion and pay"; and both before the war and during the war his highest appointments came from out-and-out *républicain* ministers. Finally, even during the period of Conservative supremacy after the war he did not associate himself with any body of political opinion or allow his name to be exploited by certain nationalist groups. He was, in short, a sincere Catholic but not a Clerical—a very common type in France. His insistence on the Rhine frontier, which was responsible for his later "nationalist" repute and was the outstanding error of judgment in his record, was apparently due to the trait of being unable to change his mind once he had worked out a definite conclusion—rather than to political influence or to any nationalist bias toward French policy in general.

Windsor, Vermont. T. H. THOMAS.

The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice: a Record. Edited by STEPHEN GWYNN. Two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1929. Pp. 504, 462. $10.00.)

THERE are three major themes to which these letters of Sir Cecil Spring Rice (the name is unhyphenated, but "is spoken as two syllables of one word with accent on the second" I. 4) contribute valuable testimony: the life of a career man in the English diplomatic service, the social group over which Henry Adams once presided in Washington with Hay, Lodge, and Roosevelt as lesser luminaries, and the diplomatic conduct of the English government in Washington during the period of the World War. There are numerous minor themes, to be got at by appreciative reading. The testimony is not of equal importance upon all points, but its authenticity is high. As the reviewer lays down these

volumes he is sure to feel that Mr. Gwynn has arranged an affectionate reconstruction of a man without guile, and will be gratified that it is still possible to survive in the diplomatic service and remain a gentleman.

As a career man, Spring Rice had more than thirty years of it, from his beginnings at Washington at the tail of the staff until his retirement there as ambassador. He was, as is usual, promoted by translation from legation to legation, spending intervals at St. Petersburg, Tokio, Stockholm, Cairo, Teheran, Constantinople, and Berlin. Early in his career his mind was set to a pattern in which the larger figures were the military power of Germany, the coming contest between the democratic nations and the autocracies, and the identic interests of the English-speaking nations. "The coast of Asia Minor was studded with free cities that quarrelled and were absorbed by a barbaric Empire", he wrote, from Constantinople in 1898. He was Cassandra always, scolding his superiors when their treatment of Persia dissatisfied him, prophesying war when they saw only peace ahead, and warning against believing Mr. Wilson when the rest of the world saw in Wilson the mouthpiece of a new revelation. His official dispatches are not generally printed here, and no secrets of the British government are revealed; but his voluminous informal notes and private letters admit one behind the scenes into that community of culture and inheritance that governs England, whatever party rules. Spring Rice had a talent for friendship and affection. He had already served his probation as a clerk in the Foreign Office when chance provided him with sailing directions for life. It was on a casual voyage out of New York in 1886 that he first met Theodore Roosevelt, just released from his unsuccessful campaign for mayor of New York, and on his way to St. George's, Hanover Square, and his second marriage. The men were of an age, the one with inordinate capacity for admiration, the other with similar aptitude in accepting it. Acquaintance quickly became friendship, so that Roosevelt took Spring Rice as best man within a few days, and then Spring Rice begged a job at the legation in Washington, and served there on and off through Roosevelt's period as civil service commissioner. He was soon given entry into the most charming circle known to American politics and letters.

Henry Adams, as near-god, lived in his cloud at 1603 H Street, where Hay and Lodge, Don Cameron, and Theodore Roosevelt, came and went as they pleased; all with social position too secure to be thought of, and all with women of their households whose power to inspire friendship and affection was the equal of their own. Being a bachelor (at which he persisted for nearly fifty years), and notoriously incompetent to look after his own affairs, Spring Rice became their common ward. He repaid them in full with jingles for the children, fairy tales for all, and fascinating letters from every corner of the world. It was an unusual tribute, when he died missing his pension and leaving his family without much means, that his American friends made certain the education of his children and the comfort of his widow. The history of this group will one

day inspire a book that will establish our confidence in the essential fineness of our American civilization.

It was a misfortune that when Spring Rice came back to Washington as head of the embassy, it was upon the retirement of Bryce in 1913. The promotion was normal and proper; but it was now a disadvantage that the warm intimacies of the ambassador should be with the bitter opponents of the administration to which he was commissioned. He felt it, and refrained from too close contacts with the Roosevelts, whom he loved above all people, and who urged him to come directly from the landing stage to Oyster Bay. But he saw much of Lodge, and at the close of the day's harassing duties he often took refuge in the latter's study where, says Lodge, he could "unpack his heart with words" (II. 215). This was no place for an ambassador who was bound to maintain a good understanding with the Wilson government. Wilson was hard to get at, and Colonel House distrusted Spring Rice's temper. And Spring Rice knew so well the Americans whom he knew, that he could never believe the Wilson policies to be real or dependable. At more than one place the conclusions of Professor Seymour are challenged by Mr. Gwynn, who resents somewhat the opinion of Colonel House that Bernstorff was on the whole a better ambassador than Spring Rice. One may concede that the task of the diplomatic corps in Washington is difficult in the rare and temporary intervals of Democratic ascendancy, when their sense of political realism inspires them to do business with the opposition. But it is quite possible that an equally able man who had never seen Washington might have made easier the course of the American government, and thereby have better served his own. Jusserand, with many of the same American intimacies as Spring Rice, seems not to have been embarrassed by them.

There has been much comment upon the way in which Wilson, through House, short-circuited the State Department, and did business through his own informal agents. The responsibility for this has often been attributed to Bryan's peculiar unfitness. But in the Roosevelt years, Spring Rice, wherever he was, was used by his own government as a short cut to the White House; and this with Hay or Root in the State Department.

It is the Roosevelt correspondence that ties these volumes to American interests, not that it reveals much new material, but because it contains a new running commentary upon the Roosevelt mind. The volumes contain much that charms and considerable that enlightens. The work would have been more useful had it been better done. Mr. Gwynn's hope that his "very ignorance of diplomatic history may be of some assistance" (I. 2), misses fulfillment, and his obvious unfamiliarity with American affairs makes one suspect that he may unwittingly have overlooked among Spring Rice's papers documents of greater importance than some that he prints.

The University of Wisconsin. FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The Sovereignty of the British Dominions. By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.LITT., Lecturer on the Constitution of the British Empire at the University of Edinburgh. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1929. Pp. xxvi, 524. 18 s.)

PROFESSOR KEITH is one of the most distinguished and careful observers of tendencies in the British imperial constitution. His *War Government of the British Dominions* was a survey of the situation following a conflict that greatly stimulated the movement toward dominion nationhood. The volume under review is a further effort to appraise the constitutional changes after a decade. Particularly important among the numerous occurrences and pronouncements that call for judgment is the *Report* of the Imperial Conference of 1926 on Inter-Imperial Relations. Professor Keith seems particularly anxious—the word is used advisedly—as to the interpretation of this report. The volume is an extended footnote, so to speak, to the well-known pronouncement of 1926. The task is performed without undue detail or technicality, and yet throughout the adequacy and accuracy of the examination are apparent. The first half of the volume considers the internal sovereignty of the Dominions, its development, extent, and limits; the remainder of the study examines external sovereignty in a similar way.

The position taken by the author is frankly conservative. The *Report* did not define in any precise way, he holds, the extent of sovereignty. He dissents from the view that the oversea Dominions are members of a group "equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs"—to use the words of the report. So distinguished a student of the government of England as President Lowell of Harvard would seem too optimistic in asserting that "the British Empire, so far as the Dominions are concerned, has become legally and constitutionally little, if anything, more than a name", and that the Dominions are now in "a condition of full constitutional independence".

To Professor Keith the statement in the *Report* is rather a description of a state which may be the outcome of the present constitution, but "which is not the present constitution". The discussion of internal sovereignty bristles with unsurmounted steps. The Dominions have no right of secession, their constituent power is decidedly fettered, their legislation is subject to disallowance and reservation and is territorially restricted, the governor-general is not a mere figure-head, and the right of judicial appeal is still a real limitation. In external matters, it is held that the United Kingdom can undertake obligations indirectly affecting the Dominions, and it is asserted that the latter do not possess the power to make war or peace, or to remain neutral in a conflict affecting Great Britain.

There is, indeed, a confusion of tongues on the matter of dominion sovereignty. There are those in the Dominions who believe that the sovereignty at the center represented by the Crown as advised by the

king's British ministers has been decidedly intrenched upon as a result of the last decade of development. Doubtless, much has been asserted *per incuriam* by those eager to stress dominion nationhood. Yet Professor Keith's acute examination would seem to counsel, to enthusiastic nationalists, a further yielding to reality.

It seems hardly wise to characterize as "comic" the efforts of the Irish Free State to minimize the king's authority. To the author, this or that step may be "unfortunate" or "*sui generis*". Possibly the "Dominions have not the inclination or capacity to deal with foreign policy as a whole". Yet the expression of their national development may be expected to continue, and further relinquishments of sovereignty on the part of the imperial government made legal by the appropriate steps, without bringing about a disintegration of the British Commonwealth—which to Professor Keith seems unnecessary and incredible. His examination of sovereignty would seem to suggest *solvitur ambulando* as a fitting motto for the empire.

Miami University. HOWARD ROBINSON.

The Dominions and Diplomacy: the Canadian Contribution. By A. GORDON DEWEY, Department of Public Law, Columbia University. Two volumes. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1929. Pp. xv, 375; 397. $15.00.)

THIS study, the work of a Canadian writing from the vantage point of an American university, traces the evolution of the British Commonwealth of Nations, with special emphasis on Canada's contribution. Canada as the senior Dominion, has contributed some of the most important precedents, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the outstanding figure in the exposition of the nationalist point of view in four of the most crucial Imperial Conferences.

In volume one, the author sets forth the colonialist, imperialist, and nationalist viewpoints, and traces the reactions of these schools of thought to the controversies of the last generation. Pre-war proposals of the imperialists are sympathetically considered, as well as the organization and functioning of all the Imperial Conferences. The long controversy over the conduct of imperial foreign relations reviewed with unusual detail, together with the various concessions to the Dominions, such as the right of optional inclusion or withdrawal from empire treaties, the right of prior consultation, and separate representation. Here again, Canada's diplomacy and Canadian-American relations have been especially important. In the peaceful evolution of these concessions, by which the old British empire became gradually decentralized, one finds but another example of the marvelous flexibility of the English constitution. The World War brought a temporary revival of imperialist methods, but plans for an imperial federation made little headway. The constitutional settlement effected by the Imperial Conference of 1926, was "an Imperialist stock-taking . . . essentially under Nation-

alist auspices", although less crucial to the future of the empire than was at first supposed.

The second volume is devoted to a most detailed review of the main events in the international relations of the British Commonwealth since 1914, a period when the unity of the empire in international law was seriously challenged and the influence of the Dominions upon the major policies of the mother country was vital. All the delicate constitutional questions involved in the relations of the Dominions to the League of Nations, their rôle at Versailles and at the Washington Disarmament Conference, the Halibut treaty, Canada's reaction to the Treaty of Lausanne, the Geneva Protocol, and the Locarno Pact, are analyzed with unusual thoroughness. Locarno provided the first official recognition, in international law, of the limited liability of the Dominions, thus striking at the theory of the diplomatic unity of the empire. General Smuts called it "cutting the heart out of the Empire", but the Dominions welcomed this new victory for nationalist principles. The Conference of 1926 finally achieved an agreement concerning the conduct of imperial foreign affairs, a contribution to the solution of the Britannic question quite as important as the more widely-heralded settlement of internal constitutional issues.

Although the author does not venture far into the field of prophecy, some of his conclusions are worth noting. The real basis for nationalism he finds in economic conditions, and the Commonwealth, he thinks, is still in a critical period of transition. The World War marks a less distinct break in the evolution of the empire than was at first supposed. Most post-war discussions are mere applications and elucidations of principles already accepted. The author is positive that "the problem of the Commonwealth has become the problem of its foreign affairs". For that reason, he hopes that the Dominions will devote greater attention to foreign relations—indeed, he thinks Canada's acquisition of the British West Indies not undesirable, because it would jolt the most important of the Dominions out of her isolationism. The future of the Commonwealth seems to depend on the destiny of Canada and the future rôle of the United States in world politics. American readers will find some interesting comments in this connection on Pan-Americanism, the Monroe Doctrine, and Anglo-American and Canadian-American relations, which deserve serious consideration. The author faces the future with confidence that Canada's "independence" is secure. Constitutional theories, are not discussed *in vacuo*, but are constantly related to changing political and economic conditions in the member states. While the major emphasis is on Canada, a surprisingly large part of the book deals with the other dominions. Details have been so multiplied that the narrative drags at times, because of unnecessary repetition. Many quotations and long passages paraphrasing speeches might have been shortened or even omitted without serious damage to the book. The fact remains, however, that we have here a most thorough and scholarly piece of work,

so exhaustive in its treatment of the history of the Britannic question of the last thirty years that hardly a detail is left untouched.

The Ohio State University. CARL WITTKE.

A History of Russia. By GEORGE VERNADSKY, Research Associate in History in Yale University. With a Preface by Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff, Sterling Professor of Ancient History and Classical Archaeology in Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1929. Pp. xix, 370. $4.00.)

DR. VERNADSKY offers in this volume an interpretation of Russian history hitherto uncommon in textbooks of this character. The new interpretation is "Eurasian" as contrasted with the conventional "European". By that is meant that the vast plain stretching across Europe and Asia (and not merely Russia in Europe) has been made the basis of a geographical, ethnographical, and cultural interpretation. The important part played in Russian history by Asia and its nomad peoples as indicated in the struggle between the forest and the steppe is traced along with the course of the Europeanization or Westernization of Russia. Such an interpretation has much to commend it and is at times very suggestive. The chief difficulty lies in the fact that much research still remains to be done in the materials of Asiatic history, as Professor Rostovtzeff rightly observes in the preface. The interpretation is not new with Dr. Vernadsky, but his is the first application of it on a wide scale in a work in English.

To cover such an immense field in a volume of less than four hundred pages is a considerable feat. In this the author has had marked success. It is evident that it is his aim to increase the emphasis on detail as he goes along. In this way he devotes one half of the text to the period down to 1905 and the other half to the last twenty-four years of Russian history.

The first half of the volume traces the rise and development of the Russian nation and its conquest of Eurasia. Much attention is devoted to the influence of the Mongol-Tatar overlordship and for the first time adequate chapters on the history of the Russian church, literature, music, and art are presented. The second half of the volume offers what is at present the best and most objective account of Russia from the Revolution of 1905 to the end of 1928 that has thus far appeared in print. As this comes from the pen of a Russian émigré it speaks well for his talent as an historian.

To cover such a huge subject within such limits is to offer plenty of room for disagreement as to emphasis and details. Each historian will naturally make suggestions in matters with which he is most conversant. The following occur to the present reviewer. More attention might well have been given to the rôle of the commercial waterway connecting the Baltic with the Black Sea, the gradual transformation of Kievan Russia from a preponderantly commercial state to an agricultural state, the

political effect of the seniority system, and the gradual decline of Constantinople as a great center of commerce in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries before the Mongol conquest. Likewise it would seem that the very important period of the Time of Trouble deserves more than the two or three pages which it receives. Somewhat strange is the failure even to mention Pobiedonostsev, who was the tutor of Alexander III. and Nicholas II. and who played such an important part in the period from 1881 to 1904 that it has often been called the "Era of Pobiedonostsev".

The author plainly has greater success in depicting internal history than in analyzing foreign relations. Even though he has succeeded in striking a better balance than others in this respect, Russia's foreign relations in such periods as the two decades leading up to the Crimean War and that dealing with the shift from the German to the French alliance (1888–1893) are not adequately treated. Russian diplomacy during the World War, particularly the agreement in regard to Constantinople and the Straits, is entirely omitted.

The text, translated from the Russian, is written in a suggestive and stimulating style. A few errors have crept in such as the use of the word "interference" for "intervention", the transliteration of "pomiestchik", for "pomieshchik", and "duchy" for the Roumanian Principalities and Bulgaria (after 1878). The last half of the bibliography is excellent, containing also works in Russian. The first half, however, suffers in contrast and might be improved in each subdivision by the addition of three or four of the best work in Russian.

These suggestions or observations can not detract from the undoubted value of Dr. Vernadsky's volume which is one of the best and most useful texts on the subject with which it deals.

The University of California. ROBERT J. KERNER.

The International Relations of Manchuria. A Digest and Analysis of Treaties, Agreements and Negotiations Concerning the Three Eastern Provinces of China, Prepared for the 1929 Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Kyoto, Japan. By C. WALTER YOUNG, Assistant Professor of Political Science, George Washington University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1929. Pp. xxx, 307. $3.50.)

IN this volume Professor Young has summarized the treaties and agreements relating to Manchuria between 1895 and 1929. Prepared originally for the use of the members of the Institute of Pacific Relations at the Kyoto meeting last year, the work will prove of great value to all students of this interesting and very vital subject. The epitome of contents indicates clearly the method of presentation. After an introductory chapter dealing with the Sino-Russian crisis of 1929 over the Chinese Eastern Railway (which has since been brought to a temporary solution), the volume is divided into four parts covering, respectively, the periods:

1895–1905; 1905–1915; 1915–1921; 1921–1929. Each part is in turn divided into five sections: a summary of the period; the position of Japan; the position of Russia; the position of the other Powers; and Treaties and Agreements of Alliance, Coöperation and Guarantee, in each period. Seven appendixes, a list of documentary sources, and an index, complete the volume.

The text, for the period 1905–1919, consists in the main of summaries of the documents collected by MacMurray in his invaluable *Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China, 1894–1919*. Occasionally in the text and footnotes other material is referred to, usually of a source nature. After 1919 the collection of the material was more difficult, and here may be found many facts not easily obtainable, as well as more interpretative material.

After testifying to the valuable service rendered by Professor Young, for without this well organized work of reference at hand the discussions at Kyoto would have lost much of their reality, it seems almost captious to expect that even more might have been offered. To one who has been trying for some years to unravel the tangled skeins of international relations in Manchuria the volume proves less helpful than its title promised. This is without doubt due to the fact that it was prepared for the use of a group, many of whom were but little informed of the accessible materials for such a study. The treaties and agreements which have been here digested were already at the disposal of any serious student. But much could have been said concerning the negotiations, and the title gave promise of some light on these points. Japanese interests in Manchuria, for example, are based primarily upon the Portsmouth treaty of 1905, the Peking treaty, additional articles and protocols of the same year, and the Manchurian treaty and notes of 1915. But concerning the actual negotiation of these basic agreements no light is given. Yet it is not enough to know what were the terms of the completed agreement, for the original demands, the modifications, the compromises, all shed much light upon the ends which both parties sought to gain. The important Manchurian treaty and notes of 1915 are dismissed with three pages of summary, while the Lansing-Ishii notes of 1917, which had no practical effect upon Manchuria at all, receive almost three times as much space, as well as an entire appendix. These and other instances of what seems to be a faulty sense of proportion were no doubt occasioned by the necessity of completing the volume at a certain time. But if treaties are of unequal significance this fact should be clearly pointed out.

Stanford University. PAYSON J. TREAT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Dictionary of American Biography. Edited by ALLEN JOHNSON. Volume III., Brearly-Chandler. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1929. Pp. ix, 618. $250 for the complete set.)

IT is sufficient praise to say that the third volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography* maintains the high standard set by the first two. The present volume contains 676 biographies from 311 different pens, bringing the number of memoirs thus far presented to a total of 2033, and carrying the list of American notables through "Chandler, Zachariah". Of the men and women treated in the third volume the Browns carry off the prize for frequency of mention, being allotted 70 biographies (not counting the 11 Brownes), and thus easily outstripping the 42 Adamses and an equal number of Allens in volume I. Other names ranking high in numerical importance are Campbell, 26 entries; Brooks, 20; Butler, 20; and Carter, 15. As in the earlier volumes, the writing is characterized by succinctness, clarity, and accuracy. While, in general, the contributors have not altered the accepted conception of the better known figures, yet they have, in numerous instances, corrected long-standing errors as to detail and they have performed an important service in rescuing many minor characters from unmerited obscurity. In a gratifying number of cases the authors have used source materials, manuscript as well as printed, in preparing their sketches, though there are some surprising exceptions.

The volume reveals again the breadth of conception which guided the editor in making his selection of names for inclusion. It is possible, for example, to learn from this latest installment of biographies who invented the detachable collar, when small letters first appeared on the typewriter keyboard, who devised standardized patterns for women's clothes, and what playwright first perpetrated the sentiment, "Rags are royal raiment when worn for virtue's sake". At the same time the number of outstanding Americans appears to average as high as in either of the earlier volumes. With ample riches to select from it is difficult to choose the sketches of exceptional merit, but in this category belong Carl Van Doren's "Charles Brockden Brown", Allen Johnson's "John Brown" (stressing the insanity theory), E. S. Bates's "William Crary Brownell", Allan Nevins's "William Cullen Bryant", Vernon Kellogg's "Luther Burbank", Charles Moore's "Daniel Hudson Burnham", Isaac J. Cox's "Aaron Burr" (including an unusually excellent bibliography), Merle E. Curti's "Elihu Burritt", Norman Foerster's "John Burroughs", C. A. Dinsmore's "Horace Bushnell", Kenneth B. Murdock's "Mather Byles", and Samuel Eliot Morison's "George Cabot". Special mention should also be made of certain writers who contributed series of articles on relatively minor characters in particular fields, notably E. M. Coulter in Southern biography, Louise P. Kellogg and W. J. Ghent who dealt with explorers and frontier figures, H. W. Howard Knott in legal biography,

and Carter G. Woodson who supplied most of the memoirs of negroes.

It would be easy in many instances to quarrel with the editor in regard to his apportionment of space among various biographies. Why, for example, is Vernon B. Castle, the dancer, allowed nearly as many words as John Carver, first governor of Plymouth? In general, however, it seems to the reviewer that Dr. Johnson has solved such problems as well as could be humanly expected. The editorial practice of making cross references does not always seem to be consistent. In the present volume, for instance, under "Buffalo Bill" we are referred to "Cody, William Frederick", for a biography, while the memoir of another well-known scout, whose real name was Moses E. Milner, appears under his frontier nickname of "California Joe". Typographical errors are relatively few, though it may be worth while to note that the initials V. K. signed to one of the articles (p. 270) have no exact counterpart in the list of contributors at the beginning of the volume.

Of the names omitted from the volume, the following would seem to be as worthy of inclusion as many of those that are given space: Carl Brenner (1838–1888), artist; August Brentano (1829–1886), bookstore entrepreneur; Eloise Bridges (1832–1902), actress; Harriet Brittan (d. 1897), missionary; David Brooks (1820–1891), inventor and electrical engineer; Felix Brown (1826–1899), inventor; Charles Benjamin Brush (1848–1897), hydraulic engineer; Caspar Buberl (1834–1899), sculptor; John Chester Buttre (1821–1893), steel engraver; Douglas Campbell (1839–1893), lawyer and historian; James E. Campbell (1843–1924), lawyer and governor of Ohio; John Lyle Campbell (1818–1886), chemist and geologist; Anthony Cannon (1855–1891), the "Tony Hart" of the theatrical team of Harrigan and Hart; Francis L. Capen (1817–1889), astronomer; and Hamilton Young Castner (1859–1899), inventor of important chemical processes in industry. Misstatements of fact are not frequent. It is incorrect to call Douglas "the author of 'squatter sovereignty'" (p. 15). The claim that Buchanan was responsible for Polk's two messages on the Monroe Doctrine (p. 210) is highly dubious and should not have been made without reference to supporting evidence—some rather clear evidence to the contrary may be found in Polk's *Diary* (M. M. Quaife, ed.), I. 64–65. The tariff of 1857 was not an act of the Buchanan administration (p. 212), having been adopted in the closing weeks of Pierce's presidency. The Civil War governor of Massachusetts bore the name of Andrew, not Andrews (p. 357). The Anti-Monopoly party of 1884 did not denounce, but demanded, "national control of interstate commerce and the eight-hour day" (p. 359). When Nahum Capen wrote his *Republic of the United States of America*, Buchanan was Secretary of State, not President (p. 482). By the "Dallas tariff of 1847" (p. 488) is evidently meant the Walker tariff of 1846. The silver-purchase law repealed during Cleveland's second term dated from 1890, not 1878 (p. 489). Senator Cattell voted for the conviction, not the impeachment, of President Johnson (p. 577).

Harvard University. A. M. SCHLESINGER.

Spanish Documents Concerning English Voyages to the Caribbean 1527–1568. Selected from the Archives of the Indies at Seville by I. A. WRIGHT, B.A., F.R.Hist.S., Fellow of the Dutch Royal Historical Society, Utrecht. (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society. 1929. Pp. x, 167, xlvi. £1 5 s.)

MISS WRIGHT has drawn from the inexhaustible resources of the Archivo de Indias in Seville a group of twenty-nine documents illustrating the Spanish reaction to English intrusions into the West Indies in the sixteenth century. Three of the documents concern the first recorded visit of an English ship to the Spanish islands in 1527; the rest pertain to the three trading voyages of John Hawkins between 1562 and 1568, and to that of his agent, John Lovell, in 1566–1567.

The chief source of information about the mysterious and still unidentified English three-masted vessel which appeared before Porto Rico and Santo Domingo in November, 1527, has long been available in print in the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos . . . América y Oceania*, vol. XL. 305 ff. But the translation of the major part of it by Miss Wright (document no. 1) is edited with a meticulous care that is notoriously absent from most of the documents in the *Colección*. The most interesting and enlightening papers are those dealing with Hawkins's sojourn in the harbor of San Juan de Ulua and with the famous episode of his discomfiture by the Spanish treasure fleet of that year from Seville. They include a copy of the agreement of the Mexican viceroy and fleet commander, Don Martin Enríquez, upon which Hawkins admitted the fleet into the harbor; the viceroy's own statement of the events which followed, supported by sworn depositions of the principal actors in the drama; and the formal report of the Audiencia of Mexico to the Crown. The premeditated treachery of the Spaniards is patent in these documents, as is its justification from their point of view.

The translations are preceded by an introduction of twenty-six pages, and are accompanied by an example of contemporary cartography of the West Indies taken from the Atlas of Diego Homem of 1568, and by a specimen of sixteenth century handwriting in a photograph of one of the documents serving as a frontispiece.

Some of the general statements in the earlier part of Miss Wright's excellent introduction may perhaps be called into question. That the English in 1527 were "the first foreigners to invade Spain's New World" (p. 1), seems to the reviewer at least to be doubtful; and that "Aragon was already incorporated with Castile", even for the purposes of Spanish policy in America, is for Ferdinand and Isabella's time somewhat premature (p. 3, note 2). It may also be questioned whether it ever "profited the Spanish crown materially to maintain the laws which restricted immigration, commerce and trade to Indies" (p. 6). It profited certain of the king's subjects, but royal revenues would have been vastly greater had intercourse with America been freer than the Hapsburgs

ever permitted it to be. The evidence does not show that a foreigner trading to the colonies had to have two royal licenses (p. 8), one to go to the Indies and another to trade. The former as a rule qualified for trade as well.

Miss Wright's frequent references to a multitude of other documents in the Seville archives bearing upon the subject of these voyages are very intriguing. A fascinating study might be made of conditions which, as the editor herself remarks, "were not unlike those which are reported to exist at present along the Atlantic seaboard of the United States with respect to the liquor traffic". The private interests of the colonists, who benefited from the cheaper and more abundant market provided by the interloper, were not at all in harmony with those of the government. And royal officials were easily seduced by bribery or by a share in the illicit traffic. Appearances were generally preserved, but "covert lawlessness and venality were general". There were interminable investigations and frequent suits at law, but public opinion was always with the lawbreakers. Then as now prohibitions on the statute books did not necessarily mean prohibition in practice.

Harvard University. C. H. Haring.

Winthrop Papers. Volume I., *1498–1628*. (The Massachusetts Historical Society. 1929. Pp. xxxii, 456. $6.00.)

The English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers, who came to Plymouth on the "Mayflower" in 1620, the "Fortune" in 1621, and the "Anne" and the "Little James" in 1623. By Charles Edward Banks, Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. (New York: Grafton Press. 1929. Pp. xi, 187. Ltd. ed. $20.00.)

In 1925 the Massachusetts Historical Society began the publication of the Winthrop Papers, the largest and most important collection of private papers on early American history. This first volume has now been reissued and is to take the place of the volume previously published in 1925 and already noticed in this *Review* (vol. XXXII. 328). A number of new papers have been found; a large amount of additional information about the papers previously printed has also become available; and the Society is to be highly commended upon its willingness to reprint the volume so that this material should appear in its proper place in what will undoubtedly be the most important series the Society has yet published. A new committee of publication has now charge of the series and is composed of Professor S. E. Morison, Professor C. N. Greenough, Mr. H. W. Cunningham, Mr. Frederic Winthrop, and Dr. Worthington C. Ford, all of them names which need neither comment nor commendation. The new material includes entries from the Castlin's Court Roll, of great interest, Adam Winthrop's account of the death of Princess Mary, the record of the Winthrop family from the Visitation of Suffolk in 1612, and some new letters.

The material in the volume as it now stands deals wholly with the Winthrop family in England and had been in large measure printed before in various places. Scholars will not find anything in it to change substantially their ideas of the family or of the period but the material has been brought together for the first time and redated and rearranged. For genealogists the volume is of the first consequence and students of the Puritan movement and of economic history will find much of value.

The reissue of the volume afforded an opportunity to expand the critical apparatus which is the last word in high historical scholarship. Not only have the footnotes been reëdited and rewritten, but they have been much expanded by the inclusion of additional information of great value. With the aid of the new information papers only provisionally dated before have now been dated with exactitude and the papers have been therefore somewhat rearranged. In a new preface the history of the Winthrop MSS. has been told and a complete statement made of the previous publication of parts of them. The critical principles on which they have been edited have been set forth with a learning and acumen which are beyond all praise. A new and lengthy analytical table of contents shows the contents of the volume at a glance. The index has been remade and is about one third larger than before.

In a sumptuously printed small volume Charles Edward Banks has retold many pertinent facts about those who came to Plymouth on the *Mayflower*, the *Fortune*, the *Anne*, and the *Little James*. The book is well written and will provide the general public with a brief and accurate account of the first settlers, but there is no new information in it so far as this reviewer could discover and it does not pretend to set forth what we already know. The notices of the better known Pilgrims are very brief and while the lesser known are in comparison treated at length, all are too brief to be of value to scholars.

Washington University. ROLAND G. USHER.

Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia. Volume III., *The Letters of Thomas Nelson and Benjamin Harrison.* H R. MCILWAINE, General Editor. (Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1929. Pp. xii, 510.)

THIS volume includes the letters of the executive from June 7, 1781, to February 27, 1783, covering the whole of the administration of Governor Thomas Nelson, who resigned in November on account of ill health, and the first fifteen months of that of Benjamin Harrison, who assumed office December 1, 1781. In the latter part of Jefferson's administration the government, in consequence of the British invasion, had gone into migration, and during the early part of Nelson's term had remained somewhat disrupted. Partly as a result of this and partly because of Nelson's ill health, the executive pen was frequently wielded by others than the governor—lieutenant governor, members of the council,

even the governor's secretary. Later Governor Nelson felt it incumbent upon him to take up his post nearer to the seat of military operations (first at Williamsburg, then at the camp before Yorktown), in order that he might render all possible service in securing supplies for the army, leaving the lieutenant governor and council in Richmond. Accordingly there is a series of letters from the governor and another from the lieutenant governor, with frequent interchanges between the two.

On the contrary, throughout the period of Harrison's administration covered in this volume there are few letters that bear a signature other than that of the governor himself. It is Harrison's correspondence that chiefly occupies the pages of the volume (the Nelson period is covered in precisely 100 pages), and one is impressed with the extent and variety of it. During Nelson's short-lived administration military exigencies, particularly the problem of provisioning the army, were in the forefront. Many of the same or like problems continued for a good many months to beset the Harrison administration, but Harrison soon encountered numerous problems of a different sort. Some of these were internal, for it was a period in which the state was endeavoring to readjust itself to conditions of peace or the expectation of peace; some were external, chiefly relations with the Continental Congress, including the adjustment of accounts, the western land question, and others. All these problems Harrison attacked with vigor and for the most part with a breadth of view which did not characterize the policies and conduct of all his gubernatorial contemporaries.

In commenting upon an earlier volume of the series this reviewer made the suggestion that it would have been better upon the whole if the letters actually sent, when available, had been made the basis of the text instead of the letter-book copies. By way of test a few comparisons were made between the printed texts and the originals in the Library of Congress (some of the letters are taken from the originals in that repository), and some of the results are here indicated. The letter to Washington on March 23, 1782, as printed reads (p. 178, foot): "will be mischievous to us", whereas the original reads: "will be a mischievous enemy to us"; "cannon in York River" ("cannon on York river"). The letter of May 31 (p. 240, top): "up the bay in the night" ("up the Bay. In the night"). October 25 (p. 358, second paragraph): "some more are raised" ("some men are raised"). January 31, 1783 (p. 438): "has not done with it" ("has not done it"); "General La Valetee" ("Colo. La Vallet"); "in some manner engaged" ("in some measure engaged"); "before the next Campain" ("before the end of the next Campain"); a brief explanatory postscript not in the printed text.

Several letters are chronologically misplaced and a number have no source indicated. There are some errors in the index to which attention should be called: "Roueire" for Rouerie (under Armand); "Harvey" for Harvie; "Reudon" for Rendon (also on p. 391). The Mr. Livingston mentioned on pages 77, 79, 97, and 100 was not Robert R. Livingston.

The entry, "Thomson, Charles, illicit trade in tobacco carried on by", sets the venerable secretary of the Continental Congress in a wrong light.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

Division of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution.

New York in the American Revolution. By WILBUR C. ABBOTT, Professor of History, Harvard University. Illustrations selected by Victor H. Paltsits, Chief of American History Division, New York Public Library. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1929. Pp. xiii, 302. $3.50.)

ANDREW S. DRAPER was fond of saying that New Yorkers made history but New Englanders wrote it. Although a New Englander by adoption, the author of this volume is a mid-westerner, who lived four years in the Empire state and has written some excellent monographs on New York history. The title of the book is a bit misleading because it conveys the impression that it covers the War of Independence in New York state. But a glance at the table of contents dispels that idea and shows that the theme is restricted to New York City during those momentous years from 1763 to 1783.

The author believes that New York was "not one of the chief causes of the American Revolution" but only a "determining factor in it". He does acknowledge that it was the "center" of "some of the military operations". He fails to call attention to the fact that the first acts of Congress to put the colonies in a state of defense were concerned with the protection of New York City and the Hudson Highlands. The "new series of documentary publications" which have appeared since the older histories of New York City were written, he believes, call for a newer interpretation. Yet the *Journals of the New York Provincial Congress* were not used, apparently, and do not appear in the list of sources, although one of the most important for the period. A study of the *Journals* would have avoided the confusion of the acts of the Provincial Congress in 1775 and 1776 (p. 157) and would have modified the statement that when Vaughan burned Kingston in 1777, "the legislature fled first to Dutchess County, then to Livingston Manor near Albany" (p. 231). To say that the State Constitution was "hastily accepted" on April 20, 1777 (p. 225), is scarcely correct. The relation of Chancellor R. R. Livingston and Chief Justice John Jay to the Committee of Safety is somewhat misleading (p. 225). *The Public Papers of George Clinton,* not listed in the bibliography, would have straightened some of these difficulties. The Committee of Safety and Council of Safety were merely *ad interim* bodies and did not hold sessions while the Provincial Congress was in session. In the "conquest of Canada" General Schuyler did not serve under Montgomery but was his superior (p. 159). Did Baroness Riedesel leave America "in July, 1787" (p. 256)? Only volume X. of *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York* is mentioned, while the materials in volumes VIII. and XV. are overlooked (p. 291). Roberts, *New*

York in the Revolution, is cited under two headings as if two different works. The *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution* is omitted.

Aside from the errors in the text and the unsatisfactory bibliography, Professor Abbott presents a fresh and scholarly summary of the history of New York City during the Revolution. He brings to his interpretation an understanding of the feelings of the people in other American states and in Europe as well. He shows that the real issue was one between "dependence" and "independence". Out of the recasting of the radical, moderate, and conservative factions emerge the champions and the opponents of separation—the Patriots and the Loyalists. The use of the extra-legal committee as an agency of political change is fully recognized. Perhaps too little is said about religious influences. The most valuable part of the book consists of the last three chapters which discuss the history of the city from 1776 to 1783 from the standpoint of the British leaders who were in control there. During that period of seven years New York was not only the headquarters of the English forces in America but of the Loyalists as well. One finds an honest estimate of the Loyalist and of his point of view. Loyalist newspapers supplied the news and exerted a powerful influence. Business flourished to an unusual degree. The social conventions, but with a British flavor, continued. The city was not injured but rather improved. The inhabitants saw armies and navies come and go, and watched the course of events with the utmost concern. The population increased from 17,000 to 30,000 greatly adding to the cost of living. The moral standards of the period of occupation were not quite of the puritanical type.

From April 6, 1783, when a packet brought the proclamation which officially ended the war, until November 25th, preparations were under way for evacuation. When the British moved out and boarded their ships, the American troops with Washington and Governor Clinton at their head marched in. That night Governor Clinton gave a "great dinner" in Fraunces's Tavern, and two days later Washington took leave of his officers. The War of Independence which began in Boston ended in triumph in New York City.

The plan of the City of New York in 1776 and the thirteen illustrations, selected with discrimination by Victor Hugo Paltsits, add much to the value of the book.

Albany, New York. A. C. Flick.

The War of Independence, American Phase: being the second volume of a History of the Founding of the American Republic. By Claude H. Van Tyne, Professor of History in the University of Michigan. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1929. Pp. x, 518. $5.00.)

This volume maintains the high standard of excellence in scholarship and presentation set up in the *Causes of the War of Independence* to

which it is the sequel. It covers the period from the battles of Lexington and Concord to the formation of the French alliance. The author had originally planned to treat the actual War of Independence in a single volume but new stores of material have necessitated two volumes instead of one. His purpose apparently is to present a comprehensive account of the political and military aspects of the struggle, using not only the recent investigations of other scholars but important documentary materials either inaccessible to or not fully exploited by previous writers. Among the original sources which he has placed under tribute are the French archives, the papers in the Public Record Office, Burnett's *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress*, Fortescue's *Correspondence of George III.*, and above all the Germain, Clinton, and Greene papers, made available through the generosity of Mr. William L. Clements.

After devoting two opening chapters to the effects of Lexington and Concord upon popular sentiment and to the views of Loyalists and Patriots in 1775, the author directs his attention to military matters, describing in five chapters the operations about Boston in 1775 and 1776, and the military preparations in England and America. Then follow five chapters regarding the state of public opinion in England and America, two others on the military operations in New York and New Jersey, and three on the development of the sentiment of independence. Three chapters on the campaign of 1777 introduce the subject of Franco-American relations which are discussed in three which conclude the volume.

The book is not only good history but good reading. The treatment is dignified without being dull, clear without being colorless, impartial without being unsympathetic. Quiet humor, gentle irony, polished epigram grace many a page. Military operations are described vividly and with such lucidity in respect of geographic detail that the need of a map is scarcely felt. Contemporary opinion as expressed in book or broadside is skillfully dissected. One will search in vain for a more trenchant analysis of "Common Sense" or of "Taxation no Tyranny". Although the text is at times freighted heavily with quotations, these are chosen with excellent discrimination.

The principal figures in the revolutionary scene are portrayed with sure and practiced hand. Commendation and condemnation are meted out dispassionately. There are good as well as bad words for even such ill-conditioned characters as Charles Lee and Horatio Gates. Germain fares perhaps worst of all at the bar of judgment, and rightly so. While some of Professor Van Tyne's remarks about Washington's generalship will be "news" to certain ultra-patriotic organizations, it is his estimate of George III. which is likely to shock those who insist on casting the king in the rôle of villain of the revolutionary drama. He mildly suggests the question whether the purpose of the British government in 1775 was essentially different from that of the Union government in 1861.

Although the facts and conclusions in numerous instances are familiar to specialists in the period, they are not for that reason any the less inter-

esting and important as here presented. Among the many topics regarding which the author contributes something new and illuminating are the following: battle of Lexington (p. 5, n.); fluctuations in Canadian opinion (pp. 69–74); British failure to occupy Charlestown Neck (p. 45, n.); British preparedness (pp. 92–106); American powder problem (pp. 109–113); incongruity of New England veneration of Wilkes (p. 146); Washington's failure to use cavalry (p. 253, n.); the necessity of distinguishing between regulars and militia in taking account of contemporary criticism of the American army (p. 271); forces cementing the colonies (pp. 311–317); Congressional propaganda (pp. 317–322); the knighting of William Blackstone (p. 366); propaganda among British troops (p. 368); activities of Pontleroy and other French agents (pp. 446–453); Stormont and the American privateers (pp. 483–488).

It is in connection with the northern campaign of 1777, that Professor Van Tyne makes some of his most challenging remarks. He stresses the view that the principal object of Burgoyne's expedition was not to sever New England from the other colonies but to reënforce Howe. Dismissing as not proven the theory that Germain's orders directing Howe to march northward were pigeon-holed and forgotten, he contends that Howe was fully apprized of the part that he was expected to play, and argues that while he had the approval of the ministry for his southern movement, he ought to have realized from first-hand knowledge of the situation that it would be impossible to take Philadelphia first and then return to the succor of Burgoyne. "England not only expected every man beyond the seas to do his duty, but to use some sense about it" (p. 414). Howe is thus made to bear a heavier degree of responsibility for the British disasters of 1777 than is customarily allotted to him. A flood of new light is thrown upon his unhappy relations with Clinton.

Wellesley College. EDWARD E. CURTIS.

Franklin, the Apostle of Modern Times. By BERNARD FAŸ. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1929. Pp. xvi, 547. $5.00.)

IN the preface to this book, the author, answering his own question, "Why, then, write a new book on Franklin?" says that he has done so simply because, in the last six years, he has discovered innumerable documents, unknown to former biographers of Franklin; such, for example, as six to nine hundred unpublished letters, which shed a new light upon the religious and moral character, the Masonic rôle, the political and diplomatic activity, and the later loves of Franklin. This sounds so impressive that it is deeply to be regretted that the book contains no foot, or other, notes, by which we can estimate the exact extent to which the statements in its text are based upon this rich mass of unpublished material. Especially do we regret that we are not told how many of the six or nine hundred unpublished letters, just mentioned, were written by Franklin himself. Certainly, if Franklin, one of the wisest and wittiest letter

writers known to human history, was the author of most of them, they must constitute, unless for some reason they fall below the epistolary level on which he usually moved, a discovery of extraordinary importance, indeed. We had supposed that the voluminous editions of Franklin's collected works, severally prepared by Sparks, Bigelow, and Smyth, included, with but few exceptions, every letter of any material importance from the hand of Franklin, which has survived the destructive tooth of time. However this may be, there is very little, indeed, in the text of the book under review that makes any unquestionably substantial addition to our pre-existing knowledge of Franklin, or is marked by anything that can be termed freshness of interpretation. It is true that the author seems to have brought forward some new particulars relating to the part that Masonry played in the life of Franklin, but none, so far as we can see, showing that it exercised any truly determining influence over his career. It is also true that the author has culled from colonial publications a considerable number of extracts, which have never appeared in any previous biography of Franklin, but they are of but cumulative importance, and are destitute, in our humble judgment, of any really salient significance. It is likewise true that the author has found an unpublished letter by Franklin, here and there, such as the one from him to Pitt, stigmatizing the members of the British Council on Plantations as a pack of damned rascals, which can be set down as a happy find, so far as it goes; but further than this, we fail to see that *Franklin, the Apostle of Modern Times,* has any peculiar claims upon our deferential attention. Considered as a whole, it is merely Franklin *réchauffé* in the same old biographical chafing-dish, with the same old literary condiments, except that its author is even more inclined than any biographical predecessor to impart an ill turn to the relations between Franklin and women generally. It may be that much new material is ingrained in the structure of the book. It is undeniable that its list of the sources from which its facts were derived, is long and suggestive of untiring industry. But, even if a noteworthy wealth of unpublished material has entered into it, we can not escape the conclusion that this material is not used in such a manner as either sensibly to refresh the almost universal interest felt in Franklin, or to hold up his character and career in any new light, whatever. It leaves us with no clear, well-balanced impression of either Franklin's greatness, virtues, or infirmities; and, for the lack of the proper light and shade, the latter are limned in a flippant manner grossly unjust to Franklin. A French biographer might, at least, have been expected to bring something to the history of Franklin when in France, that no American biographer of Franklin had ever brought, but we can not say that Faÿ has done even this. Nor by any means, are the shortcomings of Faÿ's book entirely negative. Not content with facts, he quite often draws upon his imagination to tell us things devoid of any authentic attestation. For instance, in describing the circumstances, under which Franklin was born, he says: "And the drinkers laughed in whispering that old Josiah [Franklin's

father] wasn't leading such a dull life; his wife was pretty, and he wasn't losing time; fourteen children already". To say nothing of the dignity of history, what sort of historic verity is this? And we limit ourselves to but a single example.

In the case of translations, it is hard to apportion the blame for defects of diction between the author and the translator. Just why the translator should so freely garnish his pages with "wasn'ts", and "didn'ts", and the like, we are at a loss to know. Assuming that the responsibility for such verbal laxity is to be charged to the translator alone, the author is still responsible for much overworked levity which can hardly pass muster as wit. For illustration, in speaking of the first colonists of New England, he says that they "feared only the Devil, and, of course, their wives".

The most that can be said for this book is that it is decidedly readable. Dean Swift, Stella once declared, could write tellingly even about a broomstick; and even a much less competent biographer than Faÿ could hardly write a dull life of such a gifted and charming personage as Franklin; certainly not, if he quoted from Franklin's own writings freely. But appraise Franklin at his net worth; weigh scrupulously all his moral and intellectual shortcomings, and yet convincingly pronounce him, as his illustrous compeers, Washington and Jefferson, pronounced him, not only a truly great, but a truly good, man; ah! that is a task to which it does not seem to us that the author has proved himself equal.

Baltimore. WILLIAM CABELL BRUCE.

Ethan Allen. By JOHN PELL. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1929. Pp. xii, 331. $5.00.)

FOR several years Mr. John Pell has been gathering the material out of which this vivid biography of Ethan Allen has grown. He has written without distorting the facts and without whitewashing the eccentricities of his subject. With a rapid pen, Mr. Pell hastily sketches the ancestry and native background of Allen, picturing in a manner that immediately captures the interest of the reader the arrival of the Dorchester Company and the subsequent migration of the Allens to Connecticut, and the birth of Ethan. The Allens were a roving lot, constantly seeking more and better land. Hence it is not surprising that Ethan found himself interested in the New Hampshire Grants about 1769. Here he was active in the attempt to establish the right of the New Hampshire Grantees, and quite naturally he opposed the "Yorkers" who had secured grants from New York. Then came Concord and Lexington, and orders, of a sort, from Connecticut to take Fort Ticonderoga. Allen took the fort, but not until Benedict Arnold, armed with a commission from Massachusetts, had joined him, disputed his right to command, and finally compromised with the understanding that they enter the fort side by side. The argument over the famous words: "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress" is indeter-

minate, although Mr. Pell accepts them as likely. Allen was later captured by the British, but was exchanged in 1778, when he immediately resumed active interest in the affairs of Vermont, a self-constituted independent republic, for which the makers attempted unavailingly to win recognition from the Continental Congress. Allen, his brother Ira, and six others, taking advantage of an overture made by Sir Henry Clinton and General Haldiman, opened negotiations, ostensibly to make the republic a British province. It was a clever move, the real motive of which was probably to force recognition from Congress. Did the Allens actually intend to accept the British proposal? Mr. Pell seems to believe they intended to do whatever would safeguard the interests of the state, which, of course, would protect their own land interests there. The Allens were opportunists. Their motives, who knows what they were? Ira was undoubtedly genuinely interested in the welfare of the state, but Ethan always acted on the spur of the moment. Like many of his ilk, he ultimately lost favor with his people, and more or less retired to private life. He died in 1789.

Mr. Pell has had access to MSS. available to no other historian of the Allens and Vermont, except the late James Benjamin Wilbur. Mr. Wilbur did not use this material successfully in his biography of Ira Allen. Mr. Pell has used it, not, certainly, as a trained historian would have used it, carefully weighing the evidence therein, but rather to recreate the personality of his subject, that of a typical boy's hero: of fine physique, impetuous and impulsive, eternally the boy, even had he lived to be a centenarian, whose motto might well have been *carpe diem* with all the excitement it might hold.

Mr. Pell writes well. His style, piquant with an element of surprise, is admirably suited to his subject matter. Unfortunately, from a historian's point of view, Mr. Pell has relegated his notes and references to an appendix, and, in the text, has made no indication of their existence. Hence, one must turn constantly to the back of the volume to determine whether or not he is citing an authority. The bibliography is an excellent one, likewise the index. Technical matters aside, the book is very readable history.

The University of Nebraska. GILBERT H. DOANE.

Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro. Edited by HELEN TUNNICLIFF CATTERALL (Mrs. Ralph C. H. Catterall). Volume II., *Cases from the Courts of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.* (Washington, D. C.: The Carnegie Institution. 1929. Pp. x, 661.)

BEYOND a doubt the decisions of the courts of highest resort in the Southern states concerning African slavery have an exceptional value. In older days the statutes of the states and the records of travelers were the chief sources used in the description and interpretation of "the peculiar institution". In recent years, largely through the interest of

Professor Phillips and the late John Spencer Bassett, plantation records and the letters of overseers have been made available. However, the travelers often emphasized the exceptional or surface aspects of slavery, statutes were frequently inspired by the excitement of the hour, the plantation records so far disclosed are limited in their scope, and the letters of overseers reflect a class rather than an institution. In contrast to these sources are the judicial decisions, which treat of matters very fundamental, such as the property rights of the master and limitations to his authority, manumission and the liberties of the free negro, the effect of residence in free territories and states on the status of the slave, and that most interesting phenomenon, a tendency for a class of negroes to emerge who were neither bond nor free. Faced with such problems, the jurists of the ante bellum South were prone to formulate a political and social philosophy by which they could uphold an established institution and yet maintain standards of justice; slavery not only had to be defended from its enemies at home and abroad, but also had to be purged of its inherent viciousness. A careful perusal of the complete records of a dozen slavery cases heard by any Southern court of last resort in ante bellum days would yield ample evidence of these and other problems; and one can hardly lay aside such a group of decisions without feeling that the essence of slavery was not merely bondage of the slave to his master, but also the bondage of white society to an institutional burden too complex easily to be discarded.

For these reasons a series of volumes of Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro, planned by the Carnegie Institution and executed by Mrs. Catterall, have their distinct value. Unfortunately the text is limited to the technical decisions, the reasoning leading thereto and the dissenting opinions being not given. Much of the milk in the cocoanut is thereby lost, but the reader's appetite is none the less whetted and the way for deeper satisfaction is indicated.

As a matter of fact there were conflicting tendencies in the courts, in some states veritable judicial battles among the judges. Thus in South Carolina the eighteenth century anti-slavery philosophy found its way into the thought of Justice O'Neal, and spite of dissenting opinions by his colleagues on the bench, he construed the manumission law of South Carolina in a way contrary to the intent of the legislature and also led the court into holding that freedom gained by a slave in a foreign country or state with the consent of the master could not be voided on the return of the negro to South Carolina. It should also be noted that he published in pamphlet form a severe criticism of the slave code of South Carolina, which strangely enough escaped the eyes of abolition critics. Over in North Carolina, Justice Gaston was always interested in manumission and swung the court of that state from a strictly legalistic to a humanitarian concept of the slave's submission to his master. What of the personal equation in the liberalizing decisions of these justices? Is it mere accident that Gaston was a Catholic and O'Neal of Irish-Quaker descent?

The courts had naturally to defend established institutions, and in the South Carolina opinions notable defenses of slavery may be found, in which sanction for bondage was sought in the precedents of the Greeks and Romans, and even in medieval English law. And there was need for defense for forces dangerous to slavery existed at home as well as abroad. There is the instance of the Georgia circuit court judge, Jabez Bowen, who in 1804 ordered the grand jury of Chatham County to bring in a plan for manumission, and when the grand jury failed to obey the mandate, the judge ordered the members to be imprisoned. Spite of the rising tide of pro-slavery sentiment, the Friends Church in North Carolina disregarded state policy and court decisions and held slaves in nominal bondage preparatory to sending them to the Northwest. Throughout the South in the 'forties and 'fifties the non-slaveowning areas were becoming more restive under the privilege of the slaveowning areas in representation and taxation, the climax being the movement in North Carolina for the ad valorem taxation of slave property which occurred in 1858 and 1860. The example of the free negro seemed bad; that class of persons aroused racial fear, and after 1830 manumission laws became stricter. However many masters evaded the restrictions by bequeathing their servants to trustees with property for their support. Thus arose a class of negroes in the quasi-free status which the courts usually pronounced illegal. However Justice O'Neal for a time successfully defended the custom, while in Tennessee such a status under certain conditions was sanctioned by the state.

One can not turn the pages of these judicial decisions for many hours without wondering how long the "peculiar institution" could have been maintained. Certainly the rising price of slaves, coupled with the abolition of the privileged position of slavery in the tax systems of the states would in time have made slave labor too expensive. Might not the increasing complexity of economic relations have also made the law of slavery so complex as to become a burden to the legal structure?

So far Mrs. Catterall's work sharpens the appetite of the thoughtful reader for those volumes yet to come. Her introductions in the present volume are worthy of the masterly introductory essay in the one previously published.

Duke University. WILLIAM K. BOYD.

Utah and the Nation. By LELAND HARGRAVE CREER. [University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1929. Pp. x, 275. $3.00.)

THIS monograph, said by the author in his preface to be based largely on the manuscript sources of the Mormon Church archives and of the Bancroft Library, and on the documentary materials of the United States government, is a study of the relations of the Federal government and Utah during the period 1846–1861. Warning his readers that "nearly all

writers appear to have been interested primarily in making out a case for or against Mormonism", Mr. Creer implies that his will be an "impersonal statement of the facts". He at least refrains from committing himself on the validity or invalidity of Mormon claims as to their religious system of dogmas. Whether he is equally successful in maintaining impartial objectivity on various issues is quite another question.

After two introductory chapters on the origin of Mormonism and the Salt Lake basin before 1846, the book is made up chiefly of seven chapters giving a chronological account of the Mormon migration, the establishment of the "Theodemocracy", organization of a provisional State of Deseret followed by organization of Utah Territory, friction between Governor Brigham Young and other officials appointed by Federal authority, the military expedition against Utah, and Mormon resistance followed by "reconciliation". Three final chapters contain topical treatment of Federal Indian policy, the Mountain Meadows massacre, and overland mail to and from Utah. An extensive bibliography lists Mormon church manuscripts, Bancroft Library manuscripts, Federal documents, Utah territorial documents, contemporary works, newspapers and periodicals, and secondary authorities.

Disputed and doubtful points are explained with citation of conflicting evidence and claims. The reader is kept informed of both sides, but he can hardly help discovering that all questions are resolved in favor of the Mormon contentions. Is this inevitable bias of the author, or the result of too great and confiding reliance on more abundant Mormon sources? Did similar reasons lead him to neglect relations of such matters as Indian policies, management of public lands, postal routes and facilities, to contemporaneous problems on the same questions in other territories and states?

One wonders if the Mormon Battalion really "represents an example of unselfishness unique in history". Did the Mormons "come west for political and religious freedom", or to establish a theocratic state in which to practice the peculiar tenets of their sect? When Utah was long kept in territorial status was this "violation of the right of local self-government" or a delay necessary to insure the destruction of polygamy? Did Brigham Young and his people display "unswerving loyalty" when he commanded the army of the United States to withdraw from Utah and his territorial militia made war upon that army? Was Secretary Webster really one of "the friends of the Mormons at Washington" in 1852? (See *Private Corr.*, II., 439, 496.) Was a territorial act providing for indenture of Indian children as apprentices "an act legalizing Indian slavery"? Should a scholarly work assert that the Omnibus Bill of the Compromise of 1850 passed Congress and was signed by the President? In short, here is a monograph giving evidence of detailed and laborious research, but who can commend it as a finished product of competent and disinterested scholarship?

Carleton College. C. A. Duniway.

Sherman: Soldier, Realist, American. By B. H. LIDDELL HART. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1929. Pp. viii, 456. $5.00.)

THAT Sherman was both a soldier and an American needs no substantiation. That he was also a realist will be admitted without much argument. To substantiate this point, however, may be regarded as the challenge and justification of Captain Liddell Hart in the production of this book. Were he not well known as an English student of military matters, the fact that he is not an American might betray itself by his hailing Sherman's wedding day, May 1, 1850, as "Labour Day", and by his calling the Sanitary Commission the "Sanitary Committee". English or American, he would have done well to resist an occasional feminine indulgence in exclamation, and a tendency which at its worst beguiled him into relating "the tocsin of war" with "a toxin in the blood". These minor indiscretions should not blind the reader to the fact that he has made an exhaustive and penetrating study of Sherman as a soldier and as a human being, and that his book is the more valuable for proceeding from an English scholar, without the inherited preconceptions, Northern and Southern, to which every American is inevitably liable.

More than a dozen biographies of Sherman, written by none but Americans, have preceded this book, which surpasses them all in importance. It is hardly to be expected that any American can read it in such a vacuum of impartiality as an intelligent Englishman, Frenchman, or German might. There are doubtless Southern Americans who would still reject Captain Liddell Hart's conclusion on one of the most controverted points in Sherman's record—the burning of Columbia: "In support of the common Confederate accusation that the disaster was deliberately and officially instigated, no tittle of reasonable evidence has ever been adduced. And generals who plan to burn a city are unlikely to take up their quarters in the middle of it" (pp. 367–368). There are doubtless Northern Americans who will rejoice unduly at the vindication of Sherman by an unprejudiced investigator of precisely such an affair as that of Columbia.

As "the first modern general" in "the first modern war", Sherman is here studied, through a mass of the best available records, in a wide range of personal and military aspects. It may fairly be questioned whether the book might not have achieved its purpose more effectively had it been subjected to abridgment—especially with reference to episodes of the Civil War in which Sherman bore no direct part. But even these portions of the book contain passages which it would be a pity to lose. Here and there one comes upon such excellent bits of characterization as in the few lines (p. 406) touching upon the radical opinion in the North that was bent upon establishing negro suffrage in the South after the war: "This opinion found its chief mouthpiece in Charles Sumner—from an abstract love of the blacks—and its chief manipulator in Thad-

deus Stevens—from a concrete hatred of the whites." The characterizations of Sherman himself, particularly in his character of realist, are often of a marked felicity. A single quotation (p. 436) must suffice to suggest what is after all the central thesis of the book: "It was logical, and due to reason that was purely logical, that he should first oppose war; then, conduct it with iron severity; and, finally, seize the first real opportunity to make a peace of complete absolution."

The realistic point of view implied in such a sentence as this—and many of the same tenor might be quoted—is what leads a Northern reader of the book to hope that Southern readers of the present generation will read it as dispassionately as the writer has written it.

The Library of Congress. M. A. DeWolfe Howe.

Coxey's Army: a Study of the Industrial Army Movement of 1894. By Donald L. McMurry. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1929. Pp. vi, 331. $4.00.)

This entertaining book, appropriately bound in red, will recall to newspaper readers of the 'nineties some of the chief sources for the headlines of the period. In March, 1894, Coxey's famous army, composed of about a hundred officers and men, and followed by half that many reporters, swung down the Main Street of Massillon, Ohio. The event had news value, as General Coxey had foreseen. The negro color bearer, Jasper Johnson, who carried the stars and stripes at the head of the army, attracted attention. Marshal Carl Browne, in "such a costume as a bad actor would use in playing the rôle of a wild and woolly cowboy", also attracted attention. The straggling column of jobless workmen and tramps, ragged, shivering, unkempt, attracted attention. General Coxey's infant son, Legal Tender, who rode with his mother in a carriage well towards the rear, attracted attention. Coxey was not a half-wit. He desired publicity for his cause, and he knew how to get it.

Coxey's program of reform consisted of two propositions, both of which he wished to place before Congress for adoption. A Good Roads Bill would appropriate five hundred million dollars in legal tender notes for the purpose indicated by its title, and incidentally, by putting the United States into the road-building business, would solve in part the problem of unemployment. A non-interest-bearing Bond Bill would authorize "any State, territory, county, township, or municipality which needed public improvements to issue non-interest-bearing bonds to the extent of half the assessed value of the property within its limits." These bonds might then be exchanged for half their face value in legal tender treasury notes, to be issued by the United States government. Local improvements could thus be made by local authorities, and practically at no expense. Both schemes called for wholesale money inflation as the basic remedy for the ills of the hour, but in advocating such a policy Coxey found himself by no means out of harmony with other reformers of his period. Currency expansion was in the air.

The book under review tells adequately, mostly from newspaper sources, the story of Coxey's "petition in boots", from its inception in Coxey's mind to its anticlimatic conclusion on the Capitol grounds in Washington. This recital, however, accounts for but half of the pages. The rest of the book is concerned with the adventures of other armies, not unlike Coxey's, that converged on Washington during the summer of 1894—Fry's Army from Los Angeles, Kelly's Army from San Francisco, Sander's Cripple Creek Brigade, and others. Much of the material here set forth was first published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of December, 1923, under the title "The Industrial Armies and the Commonweal", but the elaboration now presented is well worth while. Much detail has been added, and publication in book form, of course, makes for greater availability. The publishers, however, have not been quite fair to the author. They have adorned the book with a colorful paper jacket which carries the subtitle, *A Study of Industrial Unrest, 1893–1898*. These dates are decidedly misleading. Moreover, the brief biography of Professor McMurry, also printed on the cover, must have caused that modest gentleman to wince.

"We may laugh as we please at 'Coxey's Army'", said a contemporary writer, "but it is a symptom". In full agreement with this statement Mr. McMurry devotes an entire chapter to the Meaning of the Movement—perhaps the best chapter in the book. In this attempt to give significance to his subject, the author falls back upon the disappearance of free lands as the immediate occasion of the outbreak of Coxeyism. The safety valve of the American frontier was gone; and not only the marches of the industrial armies, but also the violent strikes of the period and the Populist uprisings in the West bore witness to the fact that in the new America some other safety valve must be found. Typical of the frontier was the demand that in such a crisis the government must help. But neither the Coxeyites nor the Populists asked for outright gifts. What they demanded was the right of a willing worker to a job at a living wage. In ways more remarkable for their observance of law and order than for anything violent or revolutionary, the embattled farmers and the industrial armies sought to advance their "cause". The "remarkable thing", says Mr. McMurry, "was not that they made so much trouble, but that, under the circumstances, they made so little".

The University of Nebraska. JOHN D. HICKS.

History of American Political Thought. By RAYMOND G. GETTELL, Professor of Political Science in the University of California. (New York: Century Company. 1928. Pp. x, 633. $4.00.)

ORDINARILY a history of political thought deals primarily with writings that contain reasoned explanations of significant political facts or with men and movements that put forward more or less general formulas for the solution of political problems. When in such a history actual policies of governments or passing political controversies are described,

the description is given only in order to show the practical conditions out of which certain political interpretations and programs were shaped or to reveal practical applications or consequences of certain fundamental political doctrines. Professor Gettell's earlier volume on the *History of Political Thought* followed the usual model for such works. The work under review is composed on a different plan; for it deals more fully with the incidents of political practice than with political ideas. It is well, of course, to keep a record of the development of theory in close touch with the movement of events—to show their interaction as cause and effect, of principle and application. It seems doubtful, however, that a history of American political thought requires so detailed a record of American political practice as this volume gives. For the most part the author describes familiar governmental policies and party struggles in the United States, without any suggestion of their relation to the current of basic political beliefs, and without any indication that the author himself has in mind any such interrelations. Often he seems to have forgotten the title of his book. Thus in several instances, in a chapter devoted nominally to the "political thought" of a designated period, a single brief section on the "political theory" of the period appears to be only a digression from or perfunctory addition to the main theme of the chapter.

With such an apportionment of attention, the author has to deal very summarily with some important theorists. Thus John Wise, Paine, John Adams, John Taylor, and Jefferson are presented only in brief and scattered snatches. For the later periods this neglect of significant and influential publicists becomes more striking: Thoreau receives only six lines; Henry George and the whole single-tax movement are disposed of in eleven lines; and William Graham Sumner, Lester F. Ward, and Thorstein Veblen are given place only in slight footnote citations.

Despite the foregoing criticisms, it should be said that Professor Gettell has written a useful work, displaying some of the good qualities of his former works. He has presented clearly and impartially a compendious catalogue of governmental policies and political and constitutional issues in the United States, from colonial times through the year 1927; and his footnote citations and reference lists make up an ample bibliography of original and secondary sources. The book, therefore, is a comprehensive and valuable work of reference.

In covering so wide a field Professor Gettell occasionally makes an obvious misstatement of fact or slips into too loose a generalization. It is misleading to say, without indicating important qualifications, that the judiciary act of 1789 "conferred upon the Supreme Court the power of reviewing the decisions of state courts as to the constitutionality of state statutes" (p. 142); no such sweeping power over decisions of the state courts on the constitutionality of state statutes was conferred upon the Supreme Court until 1914. It is at least an exaggeration to say (p. 207) that the judiciary act "clearly recognized the right of the Supreme Court

to declare acts of Congress void". In the Dred Scott case the portion of the opinion dealing with the question of Scott's citizenship is not, as the author implies (p. 335), *obiter dictum*. On page 419, the author, after stating what was decided in Munn *v.* Illinois asserts in the next sentence, that "in 1886, however, the court reversed previous decisions, and declared that the power to regulate interstate commerce was lodged in Congress alone", and cites Wabash Railroad Company *v.* the State of Illinois (118 U. S., 557). The decision in the latter case was neither explicitly nor by implication a reversal of Munn *v.* Illinois; the two cases relate to essentially different questions; moreover, the court did not decide in the Wabash case that the power to regulate commerce rested exclusively in Congress. It is misleading to declare (p. 564) that the court has upheld a minimum wage statute (citing Stettler *v.* O'Hara—a four-to-four decision), without also revealing that the court's later decision, in Adkins *v.* Children's Hospital (261 U. S., 525), renders invalid all ordinary minimum-wage statutes. Finally, it is clearly wrong to imply (p. 583) that Edward Bellamy was among those who "adopted with little modification the doctrines of Marx".

However, as already indicated, the reviewer's chief complaint is that Professor Gettell has written only a good political history of the United States, when he could have given us an excellent history of American political thought.

Yale University. F. W. COKER.

Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations. By HENRY MERRITT WRISTON. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1923.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1929. Pp. xii, 874. $5.00.)

THIS book is in the nature of an extension in print of remarks made during the Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History at the Johns Hopkins University in 1923. Albeit President Wriston's product is in narrative form it is a voluminous extension, justifying the six years of research between lectures and actual printing. Nothing more encyclopedic in nature relating to American foreign relations has been done since John Bassett Moore's *Digest of International Law*. The work places before the reader the origin, functions, accomplishments, and significance of "executive agents", as distinct from United States officers, in the conduct of the foreign relations of the United States. The mistaken and rather general conception is that the persons who conduct the principal business of our foreign relations are nominated by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. No such thing. The Treaty of Ghent, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Treaty of Paris of 1898, the Treaty of Versailles, to cite only a few striking examples, were all signed not by plenipotentiaries nominated to, and confirmed by the Senate, but by executive agents appointed solely by the President and acting

for him in his own right. The author explains that this study seeks to discover how far the executive power in the United States has been able to move outside the trammels of the Senate in the conduct of foreign relations. By 1918 the practice of executive agents had been so strongly set that a Democratic President appointed commissioners to make peace without reference to a Republican Senate, which never demurred on that ground. The expedient resorted to first by President Washington has taken root and flourished in the custom of the Constitution, so that since his time there have been several hundred executive agents who have gone on business of diplomacy to practically every country with which the United States has maintained relations, and to some with which we were not at the time maintaining relations, to "still-born" countries, to viceregal provinces or commonwealths, and on international affairs of all kinds. The President now meets with no constitutional objection to the appointment of such agents, even though he appoint them without reference to the Senate, and give them the rank of ambassador, and do all this while that body is in session. It is not too much to infer after reading Mr. Wriston's able treatise that if a presidential nomination to the Senate for an ambassadorship should be refused, the same person might go abroad as an executive agent, with the actual rank of ambassador, regardless of the Senate, and negotiate a treaty—which, however, would have to take its chances for ratification by the Senate. All that controls the President is the size of the contingent fund available from Congress for the support of such agents and for other purposes.

A recital of the influence and accomplishments of these agents ranges over the whole field of American diplomacy. The author has followed their traces in the published, and (to 1876) in the unpublished files of the Department of State and in all other available printed sources, not disregarding a wealth of monographic literature, noting and summarizing the mission of nearly every important agent. With its appropriate archival references the volume is certain to be a standard reference work and guide for research workers using the Department archives. Certainly nobody with the possible exception of Mr. Justice Moore has ever combed the records of the Department of State to the extent of Mr. Wriston's erudition packed into this volume. Only one complaint may be made. It is too long, too tautological. Dutiful (let us hope) reviewers are the only persons very likely to read the book from cover to cover. The ordinary student will use it constantly for what it is and what it ought to be called: "Wriston's Encyclopedia of Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations."

George Washington University. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

Survey of American Foreign Relations. Prepared under the Direction of CHARLES P. HOWLAND, Director of Research of the Council on Foreign Relations, Research Associate in Government at Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1929. Pp. xvi, 535. $5.00.)

UNFORTUNATELY the first page of this admirable book is the worst, containing a muddle of anachronistic statements and quotations. It may serve as a warning that in general its historic introductions have slight value, being highly selective and occasionally inaccurate. They are not, however, used to distort, but to give a general impression, which is reasonably correct. The grasp of the last thirty years is so firm and based upon so comprehensive a knowledge that the vagueness as to the past is not seriously damaging.

The purpose of the book, which is a coöperative work prepared under the direction of, and obviously thoroughly synthesized by, Charles P. Howland, Director of Research of the Council on Foreign Relations, is to give an authoritative basis for the formation of public opinion. This is the second of a series of annual volumes. It is not intended that each review *in toto* the work of a year, but rather to present successive discussions of the issues most to the fore in any year. Thus this volume gives 330 pages to our relations with the countries of the Caribbean; 83 to International Organization, the World Court and the Pact of Paris; and 98 to the problems of immigration.

As the length assigned to this review precludes a detailed critique, attention will be concentrated on general characteristics. In the first place it is admirably detached in its point of view. In particular instances the acts of the United States are as freely condemned as those of others. To a remarkable degree these judgments on fact-finding agree with those of the reviewer which is the only criterion the latter can apply to judgments. All facts are well documented. On matters of policy the attempt is made to clarify the issue, and this is done not only with fairness, but with high intelligence, and evinces an understanding of the needs of the audience addressed, which is presumably that which makes reasonably intelligent public opinion.

The tone is decidedly wholesome in view of the sentimentality with which most Americans approach foreign questions. It is emphatically pragmatic. Thus the author does not attempt to make all our acts in the Caribbean conform to international law, nor to judge them by it, but rates many of them as extra legal questions of policy, to be judged on more general grounds, for which he supplies material, but not answers. He saves sanity on the subject of the Monroe Doctrine, by limiting the significance of that term, and dealing with many of our acts as unrelated to it.

The reviewer feels that in attributing our early policy of recognizing *de facto* governments to Henry Clay instead of to Washington, a chance

for myth-destroying is lost. To attribute our change to the policy of selective recognition to Seward, is, pragmatically, an anticipation; to leave James G. Blaine out of a picture of the Caribbean, is omitting, not, perhaps, Hamlet, but at least Polonius. To deny that our Caribbean policy is imperialistic, because our aim, proved by some acts, has been the establishment of self-dependence, is probably sound. It should be stated, however, that we have, *de facto*, an empire at this moment.

The attention given to policy is justified in a very interesting "note on international conferences", beginning: "Modern war arises as a consequence of policy rather than as its instrument". The point of view toward the Kellogg Peace Pact is indicated by the sentence (p. 407): "The quantum of achievement of the Pact depends largely upon the coöperation of the United States in peace measures and peace organizations".

The University of Wisconsin. CARL RUSSELL FISH.

SHORTER NOTICES

Why is History Rewritten? By the late Miss Lucy Maynard Salmon. With an introduction by Edward P. Cheyney. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. xiv, 217, $2.50.) Former students of Miss Salmon at Vassar College will doubtless welcome this posthumous volume of essays so vividly reminiscent of her personality. Like her public addresses it is suggestive, informing, and full of apposite illustrations. The title hardly conveys a correct idea of the contents, for while Miss Salmon answers her own question, and recurs to it again and again, she touches upon many subjects, hoping to "clarify in some degree the confusion that prevails somewhat generally in regard to the nature, function, and history of history". There is a chapter on historical criticism; another on the interpretation of history; and a third on "Many Men of Many Minds—in England", which seems to serve as a sort of catchall for miscellaneous observations. Still another chapter, "Many Claimants for an Honor—in America", notes the various angles from which the work of the Federal Convention of 1787 has been studied, and controverts at unnecessary length the familiar, rhetorical statement of Gladstone as to the spontaneous origin of the American Constitution. Professor Cheyney, who contributes an appreciative introduction, finds in the book a score of reasons why history should be rewritten, but most of these are elaborations of the general statement (p. 42), that "every extension of the field of knowledge and every improvement in methods of work make it inevitable that history should be rewritten". Readers of the *Review* are likely to find the book rather discursive and repetitious. It would have gained in value by compression and by a more rigorous definition of terms.

Introduction to Military History. By Robert Greenhalgh Albion, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Princeton University. [Century Historical Series.] (New York, Century Company, 1929, pp. xii, 429,

$2.25.) This volume, as explained in the preface, grew out of the author's conduct of a course in military history in the Princeton University unit of the Field Artillery Reserve Officers Training Corps, but it will unquestionably prove to be of much more general interest than its origin might suggest. The book contains a most amazing amount of information, notwithstanding its modest size, and it is also very much more readable than most works on military history. The first part includes several chapters describing the evolution and characteristics of weapons and armies; the second summarizes the development of American military policy; while the third briefly traces the operations of the American Revolution, the Civil War, and the World War, with more detailed treatment of a few selected battles and campaigns. The chapters dealing with the broader aspects of military operations follow conventional lines, though it would be difficult to find more excellent brief summaries. Such chapters, however, as those describing the battle of Princeton, and the Shenandoah campaign of 1862, constitute a more original contribution. The earlier chapters, relating to "arms and armies", contain a wealth of interesting facts which will be new to the average reader. Military operations take on new meaning, with the background afforded by Professor Albion's skillful exposition of the basic realities involved in types of weapons, tactical methods, and principles of strategy. The work of Vauban and Brialmont, discussed in the chapter entitled Forts and Sieges, is in its way as important as the leadership of Grant or Ludendorff.

The author has achieved clarity and conciseness to a remarkable degree. In fact, the style of the volume is as clear, as crisp, and occasionally almost as authoritative as the *Infantry Drill Regulations* themselves. It would seem, however, that herein lies a danger. Is there not a possibility that the inexperienced student may be led to infer that the "facts" of military history are much simpler than is actually the case? The reader is told that there are seven generals who are considered to be "really great", but others might put the figure at six or perhaps eight. It is held that Lee's decision to go with the South in 1861 "probably lengthened the war by three years", while military experts are quoted to the effect that the defensive rôle permitted to the seceding states is to be reckoned as a "five-to-two advantage for the South". The purpose of Sherman's march to the sea is declared to have been "purely destructive", other important considerations of strategy being ignored. In 1918, Foch's position would have been much more comfortable if he had actually been vested with the "full authority over the national commanders, Pétain, Haig, Pershing, and Diaz", attributed to him. These are doubtless points of difficulty common to most textbooks, however, and do not detract seriously from a volume which is an extremely valuable and, it is repeated, a most readable contribution to military history. The author has included an excellent bibliography.

Dartmouth College. WAYNE E. STEVENS.

History and Monuments of Ur. By C. J. Gadd, M.A., F.S.A., of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1929, pp. xv, 269, $6.00.) Ancient Oriental history is being modernized with a vengeance: Mr. Gadd tells us that he is presenting a local history of Ur to meet the popular interest! Soon, no doubt, we shall have local histories of a more or less popular character of Lagash, Eridu, Nippur, Babylon, Akshak, or of the other cities which have been, are being, or shall be excavated.

For two reasons, Gadd's book will possess more than an average appeal. One is the Biblical reference to "Ur of the Chaldees" (Genesis 11:28), as the home of the patriarch Abraham. Whether this reference is historical is another matter. Largely on the evidence of this very passage, it was long believed that the earliest inhabitants of Babylonia were Chaldaeans. Now we know that the Chaldaeans were late comers into the Tigris and Euphrates valleys, not before the beginning of the first pre-Christian millennium. Furthermore, as has been pointed out elsewhere (A. T. Olmstead, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XXXIV., 1918, 161 ff.), the evidence of the versions strongly hints that this passage was not in the original text of Genesis at all.

Quite as much popular interest will be excited by Gadd's presentation of the truly spectacular discoveries at Ur. A large part of the book is rightly devoted to the finds which prove that Shumerian art was at its best at the very dawn of history. Future excavation and study of the finds already made will doubtless add much to the picture, but for the moment Gadd has made available to the general public a sufficiently full account of the facts.

Like all writers of local history, Gadd finds it difficult to draw the line which separates it from general history. He passes lightly from the earliest times, for which Ur gives us the major part of our present knowledge, through the tangled lists of dynasties which were probably not contemporary as our lists make them, through the better known period when Agade was the center of events, to the Third Dynasty of Ur, when that city was once more the capital of the alluvium. Here the real interest ceases, the story hereafter is that of a once imperial capital sinking lower and lower, with only now and then a brief glimpse as some foreign rule restores an ancient temple.

Gadd has given us a straightforward chronicle, with a certain amount of attention to the local culture. He carefully avoids most of the disputed questions of general history, and confines himself rather to a bare statement of known facts. As a result, he adds but little to what has already been published elsewhere.

The University of Chicago. A. T. Olmstead.

A Bibliography of the Works of J. B. Bury. Compiled with a Memoir by Norman H. Baynes. (Cambridge, University Press, 1929, pp. 184, 10 s. 6 d.) The Memoir ends on page 124, the Bibliography on page

175. Yet the title is not incorrect; for the Memoir is in large part a *critique raisonnée* of the writings listed in the Bibliography. The student of history will be grateful for the titles. There are 369 of them in all, many of them of book reviews, textual notes, Greek and Latin verses, contributions to semi-popular periodicals, etc. He will welcome the comments of the compiler, particularly those on the items concerning the Roman Empire, late and later. We note especially his criticism of Bury's theory that the collapse of Roman power in the western section of the Empire was due to "a series of contingent events" and his frank recognition of the defects of Bury's most enduring work, the *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, pp. 76, 100. But it is the remainder—the detailed, intimate, many-angled view of Bury the man and the thinker—that makes the strongest human appeal.

A precocious boy, Bury began Latin at the age of four. At ten he knew his Greek grammar thoroughly. He early acquired the ease and felicity in writing Greek and Latin verses for which he was famous. He was a "finished cosmopolitan" in early manhood despite the disconcerting boyishness of his appearance. As a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, he reminded the Provost of "Ovid among the Goths". Succeeding Lord Acton in the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge he was a resolute nonconformist, refusing "to adapt his lecturing to meet the needs of students working for the Tripos". The undergraduate saw little of him. His eagerness to foster original work was unceasing. His general outlook was rationalist and skeptical and he made no bones about it. Bury presents the curious phenomenon of a man with a brilliant, imaginative endowment and a gift for literature who deliberately suppressed the exuberance and fire of his nature in the interest of the ideal, "almost glacial in its cold restraint", which he had formed of his duty as a scientific historian. The Mommsen whom he admired in later years was the Mommsen of "the *Corpus* and the *Staatsrecht* and the *Chronicles*". Professor Bury, we are told, "was so far an expert mathematician as to find in pure mathematics his best cure for a headache".

Bury used to maintain that a man should change his ideas every two years. Hence he anathematized consistency, launched paradoxes fearlessly, and was generously—at times uncritically—receptive of new points of view and tendencies quite regardless of their incompatibility with his own earlier conclusions and opinions. He took premature invalidism as a challenge to deliver his message, not as a release from obligation to sustained work. In short, a fine, free, courageous spirit, self-disciplined to the degree of impairing his creative imagination—such is the view of Bury attractively presented by Mr. Baynes. If he was a pupil of anyone it was of Gibbon and Freeman in whose company he had won the right "to go to and fro among the ages". The book has a curious index—of the Bibliography alone.

Harvard University. W. S. Ferguson.

Godstone: a Parish History. By Uvedale Lambert, F.S.A. (Privately Printed, 1929, pp. xii, 317.) This local history covers chiefly the period from 950 to the late seventeenth century, with a few facts for a later period, and some field maps. The chief interests are genealogical and topographical. The author has used both primary and secondary sources, the primary being both printed and in manuscript form. He has relied upon wills, extents, rent rolls, court rolls (beginning in 1559), pipe rolls, and other similar records. The treatment of the sources has been critical and effective. Only a few (Latin) documents have been reproduced. There has been not a little filling in from national or general history. This raises the question whether a local history should be an end in itself or just the quarrying of material for a larger structure. We fail to find any extended treatment of the poorer classes in the parish. Little is said about agricultural methods. The church receives scant attention. What the author probably knew best—recent conditions—he does not stop to record.

Harvard University. N. S. B. Gras.

Verfassungsgeschichte Londons, 1066–1268. Von Martin Weinbaum, Ph.D. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Heft XV.] (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1929, pp. viii, 143, 6.50 M.) Perhaps the leading theme in this book is how it came to pass that even England's greatest city never got very close to the degree of independence gained by many Continental cities. The suggestion of a constitutional history of medieval London came from Liebermann; and what we have here is the first part, ending with Henry III.'s charter of 1268 which reflected the city's misfortunes following the Barons' Wars. This, to the author, marks an epoch in London's history, and he believes that a separate and different treatment is needed for the mass of unprinted material which must be used for the later Middle Ages. The Anglo-Saxon period is omitted on the ground of the obscurity of English municipal origins and the impossibility of writing any connected account of constitutional development until after 1066. In the introduction there is a useful, yet quite incomplete, survey of the literature of the subject from sixteenth century John Stow down to the most recent works, with regret expressed that an unexpectedly swift printing prevented use of Professor Tait's important article on the "Origin of Town Councils in England" (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1929).

It must be confessed that down to Henry III. it is hard to find anything notable which this study adds; it is a good write-up from preceding monographic material—and hardly that for such famous subjects as the communal episode in Richard's reign and London's place in the Articuli Baronum and Magna Carta. Dr. Weinbaum follows recent writers in not accepting Round's leading conclusion, but appears not to know that the late Professor Adams ever wrote about London. The strife between city and state under Henry III. is freshly studied, especially how the city

was weakened by internal factions—aristocracy versus the masses—the aristocracy generally preferring a strong king who would keep order within, who could hold down democratic turbulence, to the joys of external independence. Yet even in this part, London's well-known claim in 1255 to the right to pay "aids" instead of "tallages" gets a superficial treatment. And the reviewer suspects that London's reverses late in the reign mark no such decline in influence and pretensions as is here represented. About twenty pages are devoted to excerpts from the unprinted Liber Ordinacionum, and some twelve more to various other manuscript sources.

The University of Minnesota. A. B. WHITE.

The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I. Reproduced in Facsimile from the Edition of 1833. (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1929, pp. vi, xxiii, 161, xvii, £1 1 s.) The Deputy Keeper of the Public Records has rendered a very real service to scholarship by directing the reproduction in facsimile of the first edition of the first Pipe Roll. As stated in an introductory note, only 250 copies of the earlier edition were printed. Since most of these were distributed to libraries and individuals, the book has always been rare and high in price. It may now be purchased by anyone wishing to complete his set of Pipe Rolls.

It is well known that the roll now republished is the first of its kind, and the only one existing for the reign of Henry I. For this reason it is an extremely valuable document. Prynne and D'Ewes, Dugdale and Madox, Poole, and many another modern scholar, have made use of it either in manuscript or in Joseph Hunter's edition of 1833. In early days it was assigned to the reign of Henry II., then to the troubled period of Stephen, and finally to the reign of Henry I. Madox cited it as 5 Stephen, but, in an appendix to his *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer*, showed conclusively that it belonged to the days of Henry I. Hunter's preface, which is reproduced in the new edition, is largely devoted to his proof of the date which has since been accepted, 31 Henry I.

The value of the present edition is enhanced by a new table of Addenda and Corrigenda prepared by Mr. Charles Johnson.

The University of Colorado. JAMES F. WILLARD.

Year Books of Richard II.: 13 Richard II., 1389–1390. Edited for the Ames Foundation by Theodore F. T. Plucknett, Assistant Professor of Legal History in Harvard University. (London, Spottiswoode, Ballantyne and Company, 1929, pp. l, 205.) The full recovery of the Year Books, a cause for which Maitland pleaded with all his persuasive power, is likely to be realized. With one portion of the volumes contained in Rolls Series, another under the Selden Society, the wide gap of the reign of Richard II. for at least three of the years is being worthily filled by the Ames Foundation. Compared with the preceding books of

Edward II. and Edward III., the present reports prove to be much less vivacious and discursive, tending to a more condensed and pointed style of pleading. Whoever the reporter may have been, whether student, teacher, officer, remains as much an unanswered question as ever. Instead of a multiplicity of contemporaneous notes, overlapping and conflicting, the editor finds a single basic manuscript, which was subsequently overlaid by a medley of annotations and abridgments. If the textual problem is simpler than before, the difficulty of straightening a corrupted French language seems all the greater. In contrast to the brevity of the reports, stands the full record of the court roll in conventional Latin, which has been drawn up for related cases.

As a stage in the history of common-law courts, we observe their complete divorce from the Council and the nascent Court of Chancery. Whereas formerly, under the Edwards, proceedings were marked by a constant intervention of the Council, a body in which the judges themselves were active members, by this time the Council has been displaced as a higher court of common law, and the Chancery warned off the field. With never a reference to the Council, nor once mentioning the possibility of equity, the two benches are now intent upon the precedents and analogies that are shaping the law into a consistent system. In spite of political disturbance, one is impressed with the calm decorum of the court and the cold, keen reasoning of such judges as Cherlton, Rikhill, and Wadham. Strict constructionists they are, without being pedantic.

Of the cases in detail, a few inevitably reflect the economic stress of the time. Under the Statute of Laborers two masters dispute the right to a servant, and again a servant pleads "reasonable cause" for leaving an employer. A notable attempt to bring the judgment of a manor court under review fails on the ground that the freehold lay with the lord and not the tenants. Parol contracts are not ignored, although the disposition of the court is to insist on written instruments; but a deed need not be produced if only one of its conditions be in dispute. The writ of trespass tends to expansion, but limits are set in favor of case; again detinue is brought into line with action of debt, for "it is all one". In several of these points the editor's exposition is so enlightening that the reader will wish that he had given more. Only a few slips of the pen, like "pannel" for panel, have caught the eye of the reviewer.

Vassar College. J. F. Baldwin.

The Reign of Henry the Fifth. By James Hamilton Wylie, M.A., Litt.D., Late H. M. Divisional Inspector of Schools, and William Templeton Waugh, M.A., F.R.S.C., Kingsford Professor of History in McGill University. Volume III., 1415–1422. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1929, pp. xv, 555, 30 s.) The Cambridge University Press deserves well of the historians and of the other friends of the late Doctor Wylie for bringing to completion his *Reign of Henry V.* The first volume appeared in 1914 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX. 143), and the

second in 1919 (*ibid.*, XXV. 540), the latter with only slight revision by the author, who died in 1914. The third volume starts off with matter left by Wylie, passes rather soon into a zone where the younger author carries much of the burden, and ends with the latter half (pp. 224–426) entirely his own. It is obvious that in the third volume we no longer have the exuberant, curious, meandering Wylie, so dear to many, for it covers six years (its initial date surely should have been given as 1416), whereas the first two volumes covered only the years 1413–1416. The change of speed, which is much less than arithmetic suggests, is to be explained by the stipulation of the publishers that Professor Waugh "should omit such parts of the manuscript as were not strictly relevant to the main theme and that the appendices [for the three volumes], in particular, should be severely compressed". What we have before us, therefore, is a canalized Wylie, compelled to flow between the banks of a primarily political account of the war with a study of the conditions in England and France and of the wider diplomacy which controlled or might have affected it. As such it is a distinctly successful performance without any trace of fragmentariness, and for this the younger author is entitled to warm praise. His judgment is good, his style is modest and adequate, his handling of difficult and frequently scanty sources is discreet and ingenious, and his estimates of the numbers of soldiers engaged, strategic purposes, the weight of taxation in England and France, the temper of English, Normans, Burgundians, Parisians, and dauphinist French, seem to the reviewer to be well-reasoned and sound. He indicates that Henry V., toward the end, was sanguine only of holding Normandy and inclined to compromise. It was an age of slender resources, of armies of only a couple of thousand or so, and of peoples who would not long sacrifice their well-being for any ruler or dynasty. The bibliography of the printed sources (pp. 449–535) for the whole work will be very useful. The brief memoir on Dr. Wylie, written by the late Professor Tout, adds to the charm of the new volume. The index is well-made although, according to American standards, parsimonious.

The University of Wisconsin. G. C. Sellery.

Les Grandes Indulgences Pontificales aux Pays-Bas à la Fin du Moyen Age, 1300–1531. Par F. Remy, Licencié en Sciences Historiques. (Louvain, Librairie Universitaire, 1928, pp. xxi, 230.) This Louvain dissertation puts into narrative form what can be learned from that "collection of documents concerning the papal indulgences in the Netherlands (1300–1600)" which it was the last task of the lamented Paul Fredericq to gather and edit, and which as *Codex documentorum sacratissimarum indulgentiarum neerlandicarum* found a place in the great official body of sources for Dutch history (Kleine Serie, 21, The Hague, 1922). It rests heavily, of course, on the introductions and notes of Fredericq, and hardly less heavily on the learned history of indulgences by Dr. Nikolaus Paulus, whose final volume (*Geschichte des Ablasses am Ausgange des Mittel-*

alters, Paderborn, 1923) could also make use of Fredericq's collection. Of Remy's own work it is enough to say that Paulus himself has reviewed it with praise. It frankly narrates the Church's growing use of indulgences to raise the wind for her financial needs of every sort and her sharing of these revenues, when she must, with local claimants, ecclesiastical and secular. Even the dikes of the Low Countries came in for a share. The little book is a pleasing illustration of the growing coöperation of Catholic and non-Catholic in such research. Yet one sighs for the bolder pen with which Fredericq would himself have told the story.

Cornell University. GEORGE L. BURR.

Les Français d'Outre-Mer au Moyen Age: Essai sur l'Expansion Française dans le Bassin de la Méditerranée. Par Jean Longnon. Deuxième Edition. (Paris, Perrin, 1929, pp. iv, 334, 15 fr.) This little volume was awarded the second Prix Gobert by the Académie Française. It is a résumé of French expansion in Sicily and Italy, Spain and Portugal, Syria, Cyprus, and the Balkan peninsula, from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Much of it is naturally drawn from good secondary accounts, but the part on the Morea is especially good and shows independent research. (Longnon published an edition of the French version of the Chronique de Morée twenty years ago.) Some of the generalizations are very interesting, particularly the discussion of the influence of the Hundred Years' War in checking French expansion. The book is well written, but marred by some errors in dates, possibly due to careless proof reading.

Princeton University. D. C. MUNRO.

Moudon sous le Régime Savoyard. Par Bernard de Cérenville et Charles Gilliard. [Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande. Seconde Série, Tome XIV.] (Lausanne, Payot, 1929, pp. xxx, 731, 20 frs.) Begun by one author who collected voluminous material before his death and completed by another who devoted his spare time to the subject for fourteen years, this book will stand as a monument of minute research applied to a minute locality. Moudon came to light in the Roman period and exists today, yet these many pages are chiefly devoted to the rule of the house of Savoy and stop with the advent of the Reformation, a matter of three centuries and thirty years. In part the book is a political history of the period, exhibiting the movements of the feudal rulers in their relations to their neighbors and to the Empire, because their every turn had some effect upon the life and destiny of this small community. On the other hand the main contribution of the work lies in the descriptions of that local life in its various phases, built upon the surviving records. For this purpose Moudon appears to be fortunate in the preservation of its archives, and the pages of this volume fairly burst with references and quotations. Furthermore the archives of the Canton de Vaud abound in documents of public, private, and notarial

origin, and the archives of Turin were the depositories of the accounts rendered to the Savoyard overlords by the bailiffs of Moudon.

The earliest charter is known through a confirmation by the Duke of Savoy in 1285, but the author argues from internal and outside evidence that the grant was made twenty years earlier. How much the act confirmed earlier traditions or usages there is no basis for conclusions. As it stands the charter protects the persons and property of a village community without much right of self-government, nor can the changes in that direction be shown, for if there were any records of administration in the fourteenth century they have been lost. At the beginning of the fifteenth, the account books inform us that a general council of burgesses was subject to call, and that a smaller council conducted the business of the town. We must think of it, however, as a collection of 162 hearths in 1469, and never containing more than 224 during the Savoy period.

The descriptions of this local life are extensive. The important personages and their families; the tradesmen who provided the clothing, victuals and drink; the churches and their clergy; the schools and courts of justice; the methods of poor relief; all are depicted as they appeared at various epochs. The author is fully aware that the documents do not give a complete picture, but with due restraint has held close to his sources and only occasionally suggests that "it is permitted to surmise".

Where sums of money are mentioned he has added systematically the modern equivalent in Swiss francs. He makes no claim for the scientific accuracy of these values, desiring only to give the reader an approximation to prevent him from going too far astray. The results would be more convincing if the process of reasoning were more fully stated.

The life displayed in these pages is not unique in medieval history, but the work adds to a complex picture more lights and shades, all fortified by careful research and a plethora of evidence.

J. M. V.

The Civilization of the Renaissance. By James Westfall Thompson, George Rowley, Ferdinand Schevill, George Sarton. [Mary Tuttle Bourdon Lectures, Mount Holyoke College, 1928–1929.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. ix, 137, $2.00.) In this little volume of four lectures on the Civilization of the Renaissance it is interesting to observe the divergence of view between the four contributors as to what the period of the Renaissance is. Professor Thompson would date it between 1250 and 1500; Professor Schevill approximately from 1300 to 1530; Mr. Rowley, from 1400 to 1600, while Dr. Sarton seems to accept for purposes of discussion something more like the traditional date. The three first-named contributors are still inclined to enthuse over "the sheer spirit", "the inexhaustible creativeness of the human spirit" and the "new spirit of freedom", of the Renaissance, but their divergence in dating and the tendency of the first two to go back into the medieval period and of the last named to go forward into the early modern period,

suggest the uncertainty of the historical concept which they are attempting to capture.

The most valuable part of Professor Thompson's discussion of exploration and discovery is his listing of the travels of medieval friars to the Far East and De la Roncière's findings in regard to the medieval penetration of Africa. Professor Schevill discusses the social life of the Italian cities, but one is surprised at his statement (p. 49) that "the Italian Renaissance is the period of the liberated towns". Surely it was rather the period of the despotized towns.

The two lectures on Science and Art have the most of new suggestion. For Dr. Sarton, the so-called Renaissance from the scientific point of view was not a genuine revival but a period of depression between the two great scientific revivals of the period from the 11th to the 13th centuries and that of the 17th century. The reviewer is in hearty agreement with this estimate and with the view that Italian humanists and classical scholars were not in sympathy with natural science and the scientific attitude.

Mr. Rowley asserts that the new movement in art began simultaneously in Italy and in the countries north of the Alps, about the year 1400. "During the 15th century north and south developed independently, in the 16th century the northern countries became Italianized." One cannot agree with him that (p. 107) "no Gothic artist is interested in Nature for its own sake", but the further statement is noteworthy that "in the Renaissance the material world for the first time became the sole inspiration for pictorial and plastic invention". Another interesting observation is that "Alberti . . . believed Art to be a law-bound operation". Where does the free spirit of the Renaissance come in? one wonders. Including the baroque in this discussion, Mr. Rowley notes that in this type of architecture the ceilings were so painted as to give the illusion of unlimited space. Thus the Renaissance, which is supposed to have freed the arts of painting and sculpture from subservience to architecture, is found making architecture subservient to painting. Indeed the earlier "Renaissance convention of a smaller architectural scale for the foreground of buildings in order to preserve the subservience of the figures" suggests the same thing. Other passages in the volume might be noted where the detailed logic of the facts conflicts with the general assumptions concerning the Renaissance; but these little inconsistencies do not make the work any less interesting reading.

Columbia University. LYNN THORNDIKE.

Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome. Achste deel. (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1928, pp. lxxx, 211.) The eighth annual report of the Netherlands Historical Institute at Rome reveals the manifold activities of Dutch scholars directly or indirectly associated with the Institute. There are a number of special reports by scholars of their activities during 1927. Dr. J. D. M. Cornelissen reports the com-

pletion of a volume of 826 documents covering the years 1592–1651 touching the ecclesiastical relations of the United Provinces. These were found in the Vatican and other papal archives, and include the important missives of the nuncio Bentivoglio. The collection will in due time be published in the *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien*. The director of the Institute, Dr. G. J. Hoogewerff, reports progress in the study of Netherlandish artistic relations. Other reports are by Dr. H. M. Leopold on archæological studies, and Professor H. Wagenvoort of a tour which was taken by a group of students from schools in Holland interested in classical culture for the purpose of studying archæological and artistic subjects. Of the eleven articles contributed, a number are valuable and ought to appeal to scholars. Dr. Leopold seeks to establish some points about the vexed question of Etruscan religion. Since artistic representations of divinities and the nomenclature of the gods honored in Etruria provide only a fallacious foundation upon which to base an investigation, he turns to the literary remains and shows that three facts can be established, namely, that the Etruscans believed in divinities without name and form controlling the world, that a stringent fatalism, which even prophesied the destruction of Etruscan society, was accepted, and that they believed in the principle of dualism in human beings. Other articles discuss the problems of Roman or Italian art, and give an account of canvases from Netherlandish artists found in Italian collections. The volume is embellished by thirty-seven full page illustrations, which enhance its value.

The University of Washington. H. S. Lucas.

Economic Causes of the Reformation in England. By Oscar Albert Marti, Ph.D., Professor of History, Central Missouri State Teachers College. (New York, Macmillan, 1929, pp. xxi, 254, $2.50.) Publishers' puffs often make the judicious grieve. Macmillan's notice on the jacket of Professor Marti's book implies that it is the first full and satisfactory economic explanation of the English Reformation, and states that "the reader is warned not to discount the statement that *Economic Causes of the Reformation in England* is a sensationally interesting work". Every scholar knows that the economic interpretation of the Protestant revolt has been a commonplace for at least forty years; nor will any reader of this book find in it anything sensational.

The sober truth is that Mr. Marti, by isolating and combining the pertinent facts in his field of reference, has thrown into relief and perspective the history of the effort of the state to overthrow the power and to seize the wealth of the English Church, from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. The title is misleading. There is so little attempt to show that the struggle of the two powers over the land and endowments held by the Church was the cause of the religious revolution, that the book will suggest to many readers, as it has to the reviewer, new doubts as to causal connection of the one with the

other. If the warfare of the Church and State was waged so long before the Reformation came, and if so many steps in the disendowment of the Church were taken without the aid of Lutheran doctrine, might not the battle have been fought to a finish without involving any of the other factors actually included in the Protestant revolution?

The first third of the book describes the national attack on papal finance in the thirteenth century; the second third, the economic side of the Lollard revolt; the final third, the confiscation of ecclesiastical property in the sixteenth century. The most interesting portion is that dealing with Wyclif, in whom the author sees an unconscious ally of John Ball in a general attack on the social order. According to the writer, Wyclif's leading idea, amounting to an obsession, was the proposal to disendow the clergy, for he thought that endowment was contrary to the divine order, and that it tended to corrupt the morals of both clergy and laity.

The chapters on the Reformation contain little that is new, are not always founded on the best sources, and occasionally lapse into serious errors. The allusion to "the Council of Nuremberg of 1520" (p. 138) convicts the author of ignorance of contemporary German history. On the same page Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, is confused with Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford. Richard Fox's letter (p. 139), quoted from Strype, is found in better form in Allen's edition of Fox's correspondence. Colet is quoted at second hand, and Erasmus from the "Holbein edition", a description which fails to identify the edition used, for very many reproduce Holbein's drawings, and none is known commonly by his name.

Cornell University. PRESERVED SMITH.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth. April-December, 1587. Edited by Sophie Crawford Lomas, F.R.Hist.S., and Allen B. Hinds, M.A. (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1929, pp. xlii, 608.) When Motley, in 1860, wrote his preface to his *History of the United Netherlands* he regretted the dispersion of cognate official documents in widely scattered places. Later students have encountered the same difficulty. The latest volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series,* now under review, continues the earlier policy of calendaring only the documents contained in the Public Record Office. But it may be added that in the particular field of this volume scholars have found that private collections (as, for example, the Cotton Manuscripts which Sir Robert Cotton appropriated—to use a polite term—from the public archives) contain relatively few state papers.

Motley long ago explored these archives; and perhaps the most thoroughgoing use of them was made three-quarters of a century later by another American, Dr. Conyers Read, in connection with his *Mr. Secretary Walsingham.* Some other recent writers of widely read Elizabethan biographies might also have used with good results the

original documents or at least these abstracts of papers dealing with a crucial moment in Elizabethan policy and in the fortunes of Leicester and some others.

The papers deal with Dutch and Flemish affairs from April to December, 1587. Most prominently represented are the papers of Leicester, Walsingham, Burghley, the queen, and the Dutch merchant, Andrea de Loo. There is a vivid revelation of the criss-cross of domestic politics and rivalry, peace negotiations, and the final mission and failure of Leicester as governor of Holland. The Dutch come off rather poorly in the correspondence, which naturally puts on them the blame for English failure and for the capture of Sluys by Parma. But the incompetence and violence of Leicester are shown in a manner which hardly vindicates the reputation of Elizabeth for the choice of able advisers. At the same time, the tendency of the queen to adopt a policy and then withdraw the support necessary for its success is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in the mission of Leicester to Holland. Leicester himself complained that after hazarding life, honor, and all, he was "yet subject to hard conceits". Leicester's rivals at home were evidently not indisposed to have him hazard his fortunes in so dubious an undertaking.

The work of transcription is mainly by the accomplished archivist, Mrs. Lomas. The prefatory essay by Mr. Hinds maintains the former high standard of historical exposition. The volume leaves a general impression of painstaking competence.

The University of Pennsylvania. WITT BOWDEN.

Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords, officially taken by Robert Bowyer and Henry Elsing, Clerks of the Parliaments 1621, 1625, 1628. Edited from the Original MSS. in the Inner Temple Library, the Bodleian Library and House of Lords, by Frances Helen Relf, Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S. (London, Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1929, pp. xxxii, 239.) To the student of seventeenth century English parliamentary history S. R. Gardiner is not far from a deity. He has done so much and done it so well that there is little left to do. Fortunately for searchers succeeding him he was not able to look into every nook and cranny of all English libraries and manuscript collections. From many such hidden recesses students of today are pulling out important bits which have not seen the light of day for three hundred years. Miss Frances Relf is not only one of these, but also one worthy to follow in the footsteps of Gardiner. She has discovered four more "scribbled books" of the clerks of the House of Lords for the parliaments of the sixteen-twenties and has edited them most ably for the Royal Historical Society.

These "books", which are rough notes of debates in the House of Lords taken by Robert Bowyer and Henry Elsing, clerks of that body, fill yawning gaps left by Gardiner. In his first volume of Lords' debates in the Camden Society he omits the two opening months of the Parlia-

ment of 1621. These two months fill the first fifty pages of Miss Relf's book. In Gardiner's second volume of debates in the upper House for the Camden Society he has not a word on the Parliament of 1625; but Miss Relf gives us nine pages—all too few—of the notes of debates in this Parliament. The greater part of her two hundred and twenty-nine pages covers the first session of the third Parliament of Charles I., which Gardiner does not touch. As a result, we now can follow the debates in the Lords through all five parliaments of the sixteen-twenties to the second session of the Parliament of 1628 with only one gap of less than two weeks in the Parliament of 1621. To be sure, more would be welcome for the Parliament of 1625; and debates in the Lords for the second session of the Parliament of 1628 would be most helpful.

In her introduction Miss Relf gives us a valuable bit of research on the judicial practices of the House of Lords in the early seventeenth century. Though Professor McIlwain in his *High Court of Parliament* maintains that the Lords had only jurisdiction in error and not original jurisdiction except over cases involving their privileges or their own members (p. 190), Professor Holdsworth in his *History of English Law* defends the contrary view. Miss Relf now gives proof of the existence of both jurisdictions with even more detail and shows why the Lords undertook to try original cases by answering the question why the Commons allowed them to do this. Her contention is that Coke, Noye, and a few other leaders of the Commons induced the Lords, through the medium of a small group of supporting peers headed by Lord Saye, to take over these cases rather than permit them to go to Chancery or similar Council courts. In other words, this is merely another manifestation of the strife between common law and the law of the Council courts which was such an important factor in the struggle of Parliament against the king during the first half of the seventeenth century.

As an editor Miss Relf has done extremely well for the student versed in the by-ways of her field and period. But for the student of general English history references such as "Barrington Diary" and "Pym Diary" are rather hard to trace; and a few explanations of the notes of the debates would be helpful. Of course, such a reader can easily see that the debates for the first two months of the Parliament of 1621 deal chiefly with the trial of the monopolist, Sir Giles Mompesson, while those for the first session of 1628 are intimately associated with the Petition of Right.

New York University. HAROLD HULME.

Edward Coke, Oracle of the Law. By Hastings Lyon and Herman Block, of the New York Bar. Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929, pp. viii, 385, $6.00.) While the first biography of Coke for over a century, this volume is by no means the book needed by historians and lawyers. It belongs rather to what is usually called "the new biography" than to serious history and is an attempt to write an

interesting and striking book about Coke after the manner of Maurois and Ludwig. At the same time, the authors have put together a considerable portion of the material about Coke's political career available in print and have on the whole done it well. There are no footnotes and no bibliography, but it is evident that the authors have made a careful study of Gardiner's *History of England,* of Spedding's *Bacon,* of Usher's *Reconstruction of the English Church,* of Howell's *State Trials,* and have raided the *Calendars of State Papers, Domestic,* and some other source books. The bulk of the information about Coke is however as yet in manuscript and there is no trace of any attempt to examine it. It is moreover remarkable that in the biography of a Lord Chief Justice by two lawyers there should be so little about the law and about Coke's influence upon legal history. His career as judge is compressed into forty pages, though fifty are devoted to a frankly imaginary reconstruction of his youth and education. Yet there is in print in the Selden Society publications a mine of information vital to Coke's career, which could easily have been utilized. On the whole, the legal issues of the time and even of Coke's life have been omitted altogether or dealt with briefly and superficially. The note on Shelley's case is well done but as a modern lawyer would do it; it is certainly not "black letter law" and would make Coke gasp. Nor do the authors at all appreciate the immense personal influence of Coke upon the bar and upon the law students in the Inns of Court and its vital importance in creating the solid phalanx of lawyers who themselves gave his views the victory in the courts and in the House of Commons and who transmitted them orally to posterity. There seems indeed to be nothing in the book not already well known to scholars and lawyers. It is a useful rather than a valuable book, and, while not based on extensive research, seems to contain no errors of importance about the man or the period.

Washington University. ROLAND G. USHER.

L'Administration de la Nouvelle-France. Par Gustave Lanctot, Docteur de l'Université de Paris. Paris, Champion, 1929, pp. 169.) This monograph, a doctor's dissertation at the University of Paris, describes the mechanism of government in New France. After a brief historical introduction, the author proceeds at once to a detailed consideration of the powers and functions of the governor, intendant and Sovereign Council. The turning point in the history of the governorship came with the creation of the Sovereign Council, and the arrival of the first intendant, in 1665. Thereafter, the governor's power was rather effectively restricted to military matters and Indian relations. The intendant was "the royal man-of-all work", virtually a dictator in his wide range of duties. A careful analysis of the intendant's commissions reveals a curious error of an obscure copyist, who, by the change of two words, made the intendant virtually absolute in judicial matters. The evolution of the powers and composition of the Sovereign Council is

similarly treated. This body met each Monday, to settle scores of vexing problems and disputes with an honesty of purpose and a devotion to duty not to be overlooked in the face of the many unfavorable comments on the *ancien régime* in Canada. Except for the syndics who came from the three leading settlements to register complaints at the seat of authority, there was little to suggest representative or local government, although men like Frontenac tried in vain to bring about innovations designed to increase the influence of the people in governmental matters. The author shrewdly suggests that a certain innate obstinacy, characteristic of the French-Canadians, together with the ever-present forest, to which the disgruntled might escape, served quite effectively, on occasion, to nullify the wishes of Versailles.

Like all others who have examined the subject, the present writer concludes that the French régime in Canada was "un mélange de faiblesses et de défauts", and suffered from an excess of centralization, a hopeless overlapping of functions, and too much power in the hands of individuals. Although some of the illustrative details drawn from French and Canadian archives are new in this monograph, the author has contributed little of importance to what has already been written on this subject. Moreover, it may be questioned whether the functioning of French colonial government in Canada can be fully understood without a greater emphasis on the position of the Church, and on the social and economic implications of Canadian feudalism.

The Ohio State University. CARL WITTKE.

Richelieu, a Study. By Hilaire Belloc. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott, 1929, pp. 392, $5.00.) Not a chronicle of the public acts contemporary with Richelieu's life, nor even of his own public acts, this book is an essay rather than a biography. Like most of Belloc's work, this is independently conceived, alluringly well written, and thoroughly irritating. Assuming the *great-man thesis* that "perpetually throughout history one man achieves and is the true creator of a capital event", Belloc contends that Richelieu decided the conditions under which the modern world has developed. Before Richelieu lay two divergent ways: "to aid the restoration of the Faith and culture of Europe as a whole—but at the price of suffering Hapsburg dominion, a united Germany, a dominant Spain; or to strengthen the nation at the risk of weakening the Faith and culture of Europe by permanent division". By choosing to pursue the interests of the State, Richelieu changed the destinies of our race; his policy disrupted western Christendom thereby shattering European culture, paved the way for Bismarck and extreme nationalism, and led to the present dubious trend which may be slipping into barbarism.

That Richelieu was able to wield such stupendous influence was due to his greatness: "a combination within his soul of three things: an exalted superiority to other men in decision and understanding; exercising that

superiority in the forcible reduction of all to order; absence of sympathy with human hearts through an exclusive interest in problems and political ideals". There is a freshness and intelligence in Belloc's handling of the background and setting for his hero; his sketches are vivid and human. Too often, however, his conclusions are merely plausible, leaving the impression that only half has been said, and that evidence has not been exhaustively sought. Unwarranted assumptions are numerous as in the recurrent reference to the "class whose fortunes were founded on the loot of religion". The reader's imagination is strained by the lavish use of the superlative. Repeatedly the course of history is altered by the outcome of an episode, whether it be the siege of La Rochelle or the crisis at Corbie.

Particularly interesting are Belloc's emphasis on the essentially military qualities of Richelieu, the parallel between Richelieu and Bismarck, the analysis of the greatness and decline of Spain, and the clear and effective exposition of the importance of the Valtelline in Richelieu's diplomacy.

Amherst College. LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

Edmund Burke and the Revolt against the Eighteenth Century. By Alfred Cobban, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, University of Durham. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. 280, $3.00.) This essay is a fresh and profitable study of the political and social thinking of Burke, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey in relation to the general stream of European thought. The author begins by sketching the fundamental ideas of the eighteenth century and pointing out that these "guided the Revolution" and are the ideas on which the nineteenth century has lived, but ". . . also the ideas with which the twentieth century is becoming dissatisfied". The need for a constructive remolding of institutions on sounder intellectual bases is advanced as justification for the study of "a movement based on essentially hostile principles and involving a conscious and definite revolt against the existing trend of ideas".

Burke's thinking, although owing much to the heritage of Locke, is shown nevertheless to have been opposed to it fundamentally in important respects. He defended the Revolution of 1689, but as an aristocratic Whig for whom it was a vindication of the established order. His view is a negation of the democratic idea, "a defence of government by influence". Prescription, the validity of things as they are because they are and have been, and are therefore part of the providential order, is for Burke the surest basis for mundane rights. Starting from actual experience Burke, and like him the Lake poets, "found that the basic material of politics was neither man nor the sovereign State, but simply individuals in society", thereby liberating political theory from the impossible task of attempting to reconcile absolute natural rights of State and of individual.

Burke's greatness "lay in re-inspiring politics with a cosmic spirit and in teaching men again the deeper realities of social life". He was "the first and possibly still the wisest of the theorists of nationality", his conception of which "explains, too, why the greatest of conservative statesmen could be on occasion the apologist of revolution", for the several revolutions to which he gave his approval were in each instance "the rising of practically a whole community under the leadership of its governing classes in defence of what were claimed to be ancient liberties against violent innovation". Burke was "a long way on the road to a theory of national self-determination".

Queen's University. REGINALD G. TROTTER.

Indian Finance in the Days of the Company. By Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc.Econ., Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University. (London, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. x, 392.) Professor Banerjea has written a detailed history of the public finances of the East India Company from 1765, when the Emperor of Delhi first granted the *Diwani* to the company, opening its turbulent political career, until 1858 when the Sepoy Mutiny ended it. The numerous and profuse Parliamentary Papers and Committee Reports have been utilized as well as the manuscript records of the governments of India and Bengal. Various facts make an historical treatment of Indian revenue and expenditure highly difficult: the constant conquests of new territories, the remission of old taxes and the levy of new ones, the various accounting and coinage systems, the changing rates of the Indian exchange, and the baffling intermingling of the administrative with the commercial affairs of the company. The bulk of the revenues was derived from salt, opium, and a system of land taxation that weighed heavily upon the poor cultivator and the small artisan. Beyond the ordinary administrative expenditures Indian funds were used by the company for commercial investment, for the support of the settlements of Bencoolen, Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, and St. Helena, for the cultivation of an extensive patronage both in India and England, and for the payment of various "home charges", in themselves a serious drain upon the Indian treasury. However, during the years of peace Indian revenues were capable of meeting these vast expenditures. For many years the large surplus of the Bengal presidency was used to cover the deficits of the Madras and Bombay presidencies. It was money from Bengal that financed most of the schemes of conquest. The military expenses of the company explain its general financial policy; it was these that brought about the large deficits. These were met by loans which from 1792 to 1809 increased by more than twenty-one million pounds sterling. Revenues increased but fresh wars and mounting interest charges brought greater deficits, so that in 1858 the Indian debt was almost seventy million pounds sterling. The author succinctly summarizes the history of the Indian debt as "the history of war in its financial aspect". After an

excellent general survey of the financial system the sources of Indian revenue and the civil and military expenditures are analyzed at length; ten appendixes contain important statistical details. The author writes simply and lucidly; the organization of material is commendable. The East India Company, organized for the profit of its stockholders, having played such an important rôle in India, its financial history is an illuminating approach to the history of that period.

Paris. FRANK MONAGHAN.

Correspondance de Bouteville. Publiée par Eugène Hubert, Membre de l'Académie Royale de Belgique et de la Commission Royale d'Histoire. Tome premier. (Brussels, Lamertin, 1929, pp. liii, 562.) By the decree of October 1, 1795, the Convention provided for the annexation of Belgium to France and for the division of the territory into nine departments. The preliminary work of organization was well performed by two representatives on mission, Perès and Portiez; but soon after the installation of the Directory these officials were replaced by Louis-Ghislain de Bouteville, ex-Constituent, ex-Thermidorian, protégé of Rewbell and Merlin of Douai, but a humane, prudent, experienced, and for the most part equitable functionary who arrived at Brussels with the title of Commissaire Général. For fourteen months Bouteville held this difficult post, devoting his days to conferences and tours of inspection and his evenings to correspondence with directors, ministers, local functionaries, and military officials. His threefold task was to organize law courts and local administrations, to assess and collect a forced loan, and gradually to apply French laws to the new departments.

He found the task difficult enough. The majority of the Belgians opposed a passive resistance to the new régime; the carpetbaggers and scalawags whom he was obliged to appoint to office did not have the best interest of the country at heart; the brigands who infested many districts could not be suppressed for want of a well organized gendarmerie; commerce was paralyzed by the bad condition of the roads; industry was at a standstill, and unemployment was rife. The indigent government at Paris could not spare him sufficient funds. Public functionaries resigned in scores when their salaries fell into arrears. Supplies of all sorts had to be requisitioned in lieu of cash. He fell to loggerheads with the military authorities over the suppression of pillage and embezzlement committed by agents of the latter; and, in the end, the military gained the ear of Carnot, who brought about his removal in February, 1797.

The *Papiers de Bouteville* were abandoned in Belgium by the French, and are now in the Archives du Royaume at Brussels. Their importance was called to the attention of the Commission Royale d'Histoire by M. Henri Pirenne, and that learned society intrusted the work of publication to M. Eugène Hubert, who already has at least two similar publications to his credit.

The editing is well done, in accordance with approved historical methods. Besides the scholarly introduction, always expected of an editor, the volume under review contains two hundred and sixty-seven documents either printed in full or in abstract, bringing Bouteville's activities in Belgium down to the end of the year IV. A long analytical table of contents and a concordance of the republican and Gregorian calendars contribute to the excellence of the work. When the publication is completed, the scholar will have at his elbow a wealth of authentic information, social and economic, as well as political and administrative, upon this period and phase of the French Revolution.

The University of North Carolina. MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

Deutsche Philhellenen in Griechenland, 1821–1822. Auswahl aus ihren Tagebüchern von Karl Dietrich. (Hamburg, Friederichsen, de Gruyter, 1929, p. 126, 2 M.) This little book is one of a series of publications of the Deutsch-griechische Gesellschaft relating to modern Greece. The word "Philhellene" in the title is used in a special sense to designate those Germans who took part in the Greek war for independence.

The struggle of the Greeks to free themselves from Turkish misrule aroused great interest in western Europe, and in Germany and Switzerland associations were formed to assist the Greeks. Under their auspices several small expeditions went to Greece, the largest of which, consisting of one hundred and forty-nine men, sailed from Marseilles in November, 1822. Even at that time those who went to the aid of the Greeks did not know what lay before them. They had been, so far as possible, carefully selected, and each had signed a paper declaring that he went of his own free will to aid the Christian Greeks and that the associations had not encouraged him to hope for any gain for himself. Nevertheless by no means all were primarily interested in the Greek cause. Most of them had been officers or sergeants in the Napoleonic wars and hoped for the military advancement which they could no longer expect at home. In some respects conditions were not unlike those which resulted from the war of 1914–1918, and many had, through their military experience, lost touch with the industries of peaceful times.

The editor has searched the libraries of Europe for published diaries and the like of the German Philhellenes and gives in this booklet passages, apparently well selected, from twelve of them. These tell of the experiences and impressions of their writers. We read of the relations between the Greeks and the "Franks", of the Greek costumes and guerilla mode of warfare, of the cowardice and courage of the Greeks; there are descriptions or discussions of the characters of the chief Greek leaders and of the German General Count Normann, stirring accounts of the fighting at Komboti and of the battle of Peta, where the Philhellenes were almost utterly annihilated, and less stirring, though interesting, accounts of the capture of Nauplia and of the Athenian Acropolis.

Most of the facts are known to all who have read histories of the war for Greek independence, but here they are told in the words of Germans who took part in the events, judging everything from the point of view of foreigners. The different writers tell of the same events or the same men in different ways, each manifesting his own character. All this is interesting, especially to Germans, but it is not of great historical importance.

The Library of Congress. HAROLD N. FOWLER.

La Formation de l'Unité Italienne. Par Georges Bourgin, Archiviste aux Archives Nationales. (Paris, Colin, 1929, pp. 220, 9 fr.) This little book may be said to have attained almost perfectly the end proposed by the excellent series to which it belongs: *vulgariser sans abaisser.* Into the limited space allotted to him M. Bourgin has contrived to compress an unbelievable amount of information; yet he never allows himself to be mastered by mere detail or to stray into irrelevancy. For the writer, popularization of this sort is an art of immense difficulty: for the reader, it is a discipline rather than a diversion, but a discipline that will weary no one.

M. Bourgin considers his theme to have its real inception with the profound modifications in the political, economic, and legal structure of Italy produced by the Napoleonic campaign of 1796; but in a preliminary chapter devoted to the eighteenth century he dwells upon those manifestations in literature and thought which, though sporadic and tentative, formed the intellectual foundations of the *Risorgimento.* The further limit which he has set for his subject, the treaties of 1919, might seem to imply that he has conceived of the unification of Italy as a process narrowly geographical and political. So far from this being true, however, he has continually insisted upon its broader aspect as the history of a great people's painful struggle for self-realization. With admirable skill he holds together the multifarious phases of that struggle and weaves them into a limpid and unfaltering narrative. It is possible that Fascist historians would disagree with M. Bourgin as to the part played by France and French ideas in the formation of Italian unity, but at least they could scarcely complain that he presents an unsympathetic view of Italian national aspirations, or fails to perceive that unity sprang, in the last resort, from the effort of the common will and imagination of the people.

The University of Michigan. LEONARD MANYON.

The Saburov Memoirs, or Bismarck and Russia: being fresh light on the League of the Three Emperors, 1881. Translated and edited by J. Y. Simpson. (Cambridge, University Press, 1929, pp. ix, 304, 15 s.) Had these memoirs been published twelve years ago, they would have created a sensation among students of recent diplomatic history, as was indicated by the attention paid to Professor Simpson's articles based on them in the

Nineteenth Century, 1917–1918. Since that time the principal facts in the story of the League of the Three Emperors, as likewise the text of the treaty of 1881, have become known from other sources. Nevertheless, the present publication is of real interest, mainly as giving the point of view of the Russian negotiator of this treaty which was to prove so barren of advantages to his country's foreign policy. It fills out the narrative of the negotiations. It discloses the extent to which Bismarck deceived Saburov as to the terms of the lately concluded Austro-German alliance, telling him that by it Austria "is not guaranteed against an attack".

The objects of the treaty as viewed by Saburov are made clear enough. They were to break down the isolation of Russia expressed in the Treaty of Berlin, to secure the sanction of the Central Powers for her desires as to modifications of that treaty's provisions regarding Turkey's right to occupy Eastern Roumelia and the unification of that province with Bulgaria, and to obtain some support against the view that Turkey was no longer bound to bar the Straits to a British fleet. The importance attached to this last possibility of danger is especially striking by contrast with the little stress laid on the interest of the Russian autocracy in keeping on intimate terms with the conservative Hohenzollern and Hapsburg monarchies, rather than consorting with republican, *revanchard* France. Finally, it is repeatedly made evident that Saburov, under whatever delusions he may have labored, did not regard the agreement as a definitive means of settling the Eastern Question. He favored it because "It would be dangerous to-day to engage in that struggle with Austria for the East which a future generation may see, but which we can only pursue at present with any success on pacific lines". And he concluded that the treaty "assures us of some indisputable advantages *with regard to the present*".

The memoirs themselves, which incorporate much contemporary correspondence, occupy 211 pages, the remainder of this book being made up of an introduction by the editor, a reprinted article by Saburov on the decade preceding the treaty, and a postscript including documents relevant to the negotiation from *Die Grosse Politik*.

Washington, D. C. JOSEPH V. FULLER.

Treitschke und Schleswig-Holstein: der Liberalismus und die Politik Bismarcks in der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Frage. Von Holger Hjelholt. (Munich and Berlin, 1929, pp. viii, 263.) In this essay, which appeared originally in the Danish language in the autumn of 1928, the author has made an interesting contribution to the biography of a famous historian. The problem of Treitschke's relation to the Schleswig-Holstein question was barely touched by Theodor Schiemann in his well-known study of *Heinrich von Treitschkes Lehr- und Wanderjahre* (1896). It was dealt with in more detail as part of a larger problem by Hildegard Katsch in *Heinrich von Treitschke und die preussisch-*

deutsche Frage von 1860–1866 (1919). Using Treitschke's papers which have been deposited in the *Staatsbibliothek* at Berlin, Hjelholt has filled in the picture that was outlined by his predecessors in the field. After a brief introduction on the Danish monarchy of the first half of the nineteenth century, he shows the development of Treitschke's views from 1858, when the Schleswig-Holstein question reappeared as a problem of German politics, until 1867, the end of his year among the "Normalmenschen" at Kiel.

Treitschke was, at first, an enthusiast for the "rights" of the duchies and, when the crisis came in November, 1863, he ardently supported the claims of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg. More than most of his liberal contemporaries, however, Treitschke looked at the question as one of German "Machtpolitik" and his firm belief that Prussia was called on to settle the German question by the conquest of the lesser German states made it easier for him to change his opinions and to adopt "neue sittliche Masstäbe". In the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, for February, 1865, Treitschke formally recanted his opposition to the idea of the annexation of the duchies by Prussia and became as violent a supporter of that policy as he had been of their claims to independence.

As the subtitle indicates, Hjelholt has expanded his study to include a survey of the attitude of other German liberal leaders and publicists. Because of his eloquence as a speaker and writer, Treitschke's conversion to the Bismarckian solution of the Schleswig-Holstein question was of especial significance for his contemporaries. Indeed the other liberals seem to have been almost as concerned with Treitschke's policy as with Bismarck's. In this part of the work the contrast of the personalities of Treitschke, Freytag, and Moritz Busch stands out.

In one appendix, Hjelholt prints Treitschke's notes for a lecture on Schleswig-Holstein given at Freiburg in December, 1863, and in another he criticizes the handling of the earlier phases of the question by Treitschke in his *Deutsche Geschichte*.

The University of Minnesota. LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL.

German Diplomatic Documents, 1871–1914. Volume II., *From Bismarck's Fall to 1898.* Selected and translated by E. T. S. Dugdale. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1929, pp. xx, 528.) Concerned with the diplomacy of only eight years (1890–1898), volume II. of Captain Dugdale's useful translations from the *Grosse Politik* offers more material than was possible in volume I. and is relatively much more valuable. (Volume I. dealt with the period 1871–1890 and was reviewed in this magazine, April, 1929.) Volume II. presents documents under thirty-two subject groupings in which Mediterranean problems—Egypt, Italy, and North Africa, are most numerously represented. Anglo-German relations are also fully treated in connection with the eternal Turkish difficulties, especially Armenia, and with reference to Siam, South Africa, Samoa, and the Spanish-American War.

The preface to volume I. of the English edition was by Sir Rennell Rodd, but was unfortunately replaced in the American edition by a conventional page and a half. The American edition of volume II. happily retains the preface of Sir Charles Eliot, whose name bears a warrant to speak with authority in European diplomatic history. His ten pages of observation are pointed and helpful.

In general, the topics of this volume are more adequately supplied with brief introductory notes than was the case in the foregoing volume, and there are useful and necessary comments upon the German notes appended to the documents of the original *Grosse Politik*. It would be superfluous to attempt here to point out the significant contents of documents which have already been so thoroughly reviewed, *passim*, since the appearance of the great German publication. It is clear that recent views on the diplomatic background of the war have tended to stress the profound influence of developments which occurred between 1890 and 1900. In this decade are to be found the immediate sources and mainsprings of apparently insuperable diplomatic difficulties.

It is particularly interesting to note in many of the documents of this decade the shadows which coming events were already beginning to cast. As early as 1890 appear German fears of an Anglo-French understanding on Egypt and Morocco; the use of the term Entente Cordiale occurs in 1892; most significantly we can see, in 1891, a clear recognition of the meaning of Britain's isolation. Says Prince Henry VII. of Reuss, from Vienna, reporting Kálnoky (p. 138) in 1891: Salisbury's policy "has prevented the Great Powers from being divided into two sharply opposed groups, a constellation which is always a danger to peace, since it easily wounds national vanities and sensibilities and drives them into eccentricities of action". Clearly apparent are the definite stages of growing Anglo-German discord, and also the early German appreciation of the necessity of knowing where Britain would stand in case of a general European conflict.

It should be remembered that the documents in this volume are a selection only, albeit an excellent selection, and that a complete study of even British relations with Germany alone depends upon the use of many other materials.

Amherst College. LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

Histoire du Blocus Naval, 1914–1918. Par Louis Guichard, Docteur en Droit. (Paris, Payot, 1929, pp. 239, 20 fr.) As M. Guichard recognizes that there was no blockade of Germany from the point of view of international law between 1914 and 1918, he might well have entitled his work "The Allied Control of the Seas, 1914–1918". No blockade such as Lincoln proclaimed in 1861, "in pursuance of the Law of Nations" was ever declared against Germany. The so-called blockade was an "economic boycott", precursor of Article 16 of the Covenant, by which neutral powers were coerced into aiding the Allies in isolating Germany.

M. Guichard shows how this was attained; how an economic encircling of the Central Powers, an operation strictly naval at the outset, became a diplomatic, economic, and financial operation. Therefore, the treatment has little to do with naval operations and nothing to do with the doctrine of the so-called freedom of the seas in international law. It follows rather the economic and financial pressure exerted upon each of the neutral powers and the consequent repercussions, principally upon Germany and somewhat upon her Allies. "Nevertheless, submarine warfare and economic warfare are intimately bound together by their successive actions and reactions" (p. 9). The author shows this strikingly by the events of successive Februarys, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918; in each of these months the entente naval authorities became acquainted with the economic results of the preceding years and set about to install new and additional plans for the years to come. Economic pressure upon each of the neutral countries through the extension of the contraband lists, by the development of overseas trusts and blacklists, is described in detail with such statistical material as the author was able to collect. It does not appear that he has made use of the many monographs to be found in the great series edited by Professor Shotwell.

The author has made an interesting, if not a profound study, one worthy of attention not only from the student of history but as an aid in considering the suggestion that food supplies shall be free goods during war, and that ships carrying them, whether belligerent or neutral, public or private, shall be assimilated to hospital ships.

J. S. R.

Europe since 1914. By F. Lee Benns, Indiana University. (New York, F. S. Crofts, 1930, pp. xii, 671, $5.00.) This text of recent European history reaches a high standard in several particulars. Most notable is its impartiality in the treatment of a highly controversial period. It even avoids the subtle undertone of bias or theory that lurks in many apparently impartial books. The author has no thesis to prove, no man of straw to knock down.

Another excellence is a thoroughness of treatment combined with an avoidance of the excessive dullness so often associated with thoroughness. No text of this compass that pretends to sound scholarship can be very light reading, but Professor Benns has succeeded in making his book readable without any resort to rhetorical sensationalism.

It is inevitable that a volume such as this should present certain problems, particularly those of apportionment of space, choice and arrangement of material. The author has fallen in line with the tendency among writers on recent history to hurry their readers through the war. Only 68 pages are devoted to the struggle of the military forces and only 156 to all features of the period before the meeting of the peace conference. So scant a treatment seems out of proportion. Perhaps college students of the last decade needed only a concise reminder of the war to enable

them to view it in proper perspective, but the coming generation of students will have no personal recollections for a guide and will miss the full significance of the conflict if it is hurried over in as few pages as possible.

Probably no entirely satisfactory arrangement of the material on post-war Europe will ever be found. The treatment here is strictly topical, each topic being carried from beginning to end in a single chapter. Within each chapter the presentation is very clear, but the reader loses the sense of the period as a whole, and one wonders if too great a price has not been paid for logical development of certain subjects. The bibliography is good, although it would have been still better had the evaluation of books listed, which is often excellent, been carried a little further.

Professor Benns has produced a useful text, especially for concise information on post-war topics. Its only serious fault lies in perhaps taking too much for granted the capacity of the student to create his own perspective and sense of proportion.

Swarthmore College. TROYER S. ANDERSON.

J. Ramsay MacDonald. By Mary Agnes Hamilton. (New York, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1929, pp. 305.) In 1923 Mrs. Mary Agnes Hamilton wrote *The Man of To-morrow* and in 1925 *J. Ramsay MacDonald* (*1923–1925*). The two are now joined in one volume with a slight amount of strictly biographical matter interpolated in the earlier work, a chapter on the Red Letter added in the later, and a postscript section attached to bring the whole down to 1929. Otherwise there has been no revision.

The first part is a character analysis of the Labor leader. The object is to destroy current illusions about him and let the world know what kind of a man he is. The result is a work written with sympathy and manifest admiration, for the author is a Scot, an enthusiastic member of the Labor Party, today a devoted follower of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, and always the avowed protagonist of James Ramsay MacDonald. The study, however, though partisan, is not unsound. A valuable chapter is that on his war psychology, so much misunderstood. She explains his objectivity, idealism, and efforts for an honorable peace. She refutes the charges of Tolstoyan pacifism and pro-Germanism. The second part of the book is a defense of the first Labor government. She explains its policy and defends it from the attacks of the older parties as well as the Labor and Communist extremists. There is a vigorous denunciation of the "plot" by which the false friends, the Liberals, united with the open enemies, the Tories, to exploit the Russian issue and the Red Letter in order to overthrow the government.

The volume is a worth while contribution on the man and events from the Labor point of view. For the Labor mind of these years the book is itself a valuable document. The writer may be forgiven if she

thinks her hero distinguished from other statesmen by something like a halo. Perhaps she is right. It is too soon to say.

Stanford University. CARL F. BRAND.

The Real Founders of New England: Stories of their Life along the Coast, 1602–1628. By Charles Knowles Bolton. (Boston, Faxon Company, 1929, pp. xiv, 192, $3.50.) This entertaining volume treats of the fishing stations and trading posts that were scattered along the New England coast before the coming of Bradford and Winthrop. Mr. Bolton has gathered together much out-of-the-way information about the lives of the "Real Founders", as he terms them, and about the settlements they established. In the reviewer's opinion the book should have been entitled "The First Settlers of New England". The early adventurers did establish a foothold on the coast, they did not establish a settled polity and all that goes with it. An analogous case, for instance, is found in Western history: James Bridger maintained a trading post in the Rockies, but it was Brigham Young who planted a community there.

The first settlers on this early frontier were a hardy lot, busy with fishing and the Indian trade. Their homes were generally situated either on islands or on defensible peninsulas, and the spirit of their activities closely resembles the rough individualism of later frontiers in the heart of the continent. By focusing attention on this aspect of New England history, which has been hidden in the shadow of the much greater accomplishments of Pilgrim and Puritan, the author has done a real service. He advances two novel views. His first is that these early stations were centers of Church of England influence. As Bolton describes them, these stations were turbulent indeed, a circumstance which does not accord with ardent churchmanship. His second point is that the amount of trade that originated on the early coast was greater than has commonly been supposed. The meager facts, however, do not bear out this conclusion, and before its acceptance much more documentation must be offered. An attractive figure who moves through the pages of the book is the Reverend William Blaxton, Boston's first settler.

A good deal of valuable material is conveniently compiled in the appendixes: a list of "Old Planters", and a list of early settlements and their founders. The narrative portion of the book moves easily, though it is occasionally marred by repetitions. There are some useful maps to accompany the text, and a number of drawings and illustrations.

Harvard University. FULMER MOOD.

Loyalists in East Florida, 1774 to 1785: the Most Important Documents pertaining thereto. Edited with an accompanying narrative by Wilbur Henry Siebert, F.R.H.S., Research Professor in the Ohio State University. Volume I., *The Narrative*; volume II., *Records of their Claims for Losses in the Province.* (De Land, Florida State Historical Society, 1929, pp. xiii, 263; x, 431.) These handsome quarto volumes,

printed for the sustaining members of the Florida State Historical Society (355 copies), and constituting no. 9 of the society's publications, are the fruit of several years of ardent and faithful study on the part of Professor Siebert, whose learning in all matters relating to the Loyalists is well known. The documents, which fill the major portion of volume II., are memorials and schedules laid by 372 claimants before the commissioners appointed under the act of Parliament of 1785 "to inquire into the losses of all such persons who have suffered in their properties in consequence of the cession of East Florida to the King of Spain". They set forth, in claims and testimonies, collected by commissioners in London and in the Bahamas, a wealth of items concerning grants and transfers of land, arrivals from South Carolina and Georgia, settlements, agriculture, and the various events of Governor Tonyn's administration, and a multitude of biographical details concerning persons more or less important in East Florida history. There follow some 70 pages of learned and valuable notes, mostly biographical; these are additional to the many careful footnotes. The first volume presents an elaborate narrative of all those events of the American Revolution and the immediately succeeding years which involved Loyalists of East Florida or Loyalists who went to East Florida from neighboring British provinces or American states. A bibliographical list of manuscripts, books, and other materials follows. Altogether, Professor Siebert has made a notable contribution to the history of the Revolution in the southernmost colonies; certainly he has furnished such an account of these eleven years of Florida history as no one has ever been able to give before.

Commodore David Porter, 1780–1843. By Archibald Douglas Turnbull. (New York, Century Company, 1929, pp. 326, $3.50.) Mr. Turnbull has written a popular *Life*, somewhat after the manner of the new school of biographers. A few comparisons will illustrate his method of writing. John Forster, author of the standard *Life* of Dickens, begins his excellent work with the following sentence: "Charles Dickens, the most popular novelist of the century and one of the greatest humorists that England has produced, was born at Landport in Portsea on Friday the seventh of February, 1812". Mr. Turnbull begins as follows: "Swim he must, for his life hung upon it. Swift as an otter he glided under the stars, thankful for the warmth of tropical waters". Forster writes for the serious reader and takes for granted that he is interested in Dickens; Mr. Turnbull, for the general or casual reader whose interest must be aroused and sustained by an entertaining story emphasizing the personality of Porter. Forster gives some specific information about the time and place of birth. Mr. Turnbull's narrative contains nothing on these subjects.

Toward the end of the fight between the *Essex* and the *Phoebe*, when it became necessary to surrender his ship, Porter tried to save his men from capture. Admiral Mahan's statement is, "Porter then authorized

any who might wish to swim ashore to do so" (*Sea Power in Its Relation to the War of 1812*, II. 251). Mr. Turnbull is much more specific: "'Jump!' shouted Porter. 'Those of you who can swim and want to try it—overboard with you! 'Tis only a half mile or so to shore and you have a chance to make it.'" Mr. Turnbull here and elsewhere puts into the mouth of his characters not the words that they are known to have said, but the words that they might have said or ought to have said. He gains in vividness, but he loses in authenticity.

It may be noted, not by way of criticism, that this book has no references, footnotes, or bibliography. Its many long quotations indicate that the author has read the main sources of information. His thorough knowledge of ships and the sea is a qualification that naval biographers sometimes lack.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

Division of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution.

America in the Forties: the Letters of Ole Munch Raeder. Translated and edited by Gunnar J. Malmin. [Norwegian-American Historical Association Publication.] (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1929, pp. xxi, 244, $2.50.) For better or for worse, writers on social history are obliged to gaze upon the past through the eyes of those who described the world of their day as they saw it or claimed to see it. Historians of American society have hitherto leaned heavily upon the works of English travelers but for reasons of language, inaccessibility, or indolence, they have neglected the more obscure, less colorful but also more detached, Continental observers who recorded their experiences and impressions on this side of the Atlantic. It is therefore an encouraging sign to have the account of one of the most capable of these visitors made available in English.

Ole Munch Raeder, a distinguished Norwegian jurist, spent the eventful year and a half from May, 1847, to October, 1848, in the United States. He had been sent by his government to study American legal institutions and a three volume technical discussion was the official product of his mission. But he also found time to describe his travels and reactions in a series of personal letters some of which were published, as received, in *Den Norske Rigstidende*. After a burial of eighty years they were resurrected from the files of this journal by Dr. Malmin who has added to them other letters not printed at the time but discovered in the possession of the writer's son. All have now been translated, edited and made available in a permanent and attractive form.

Raeder's itinerary took him from New York to the pioneer Norwegian settlements in Wisconsin by the Great Lakes route. He returned by way of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers and over the Alleghenies to Washington and the East. Thereafter, using New York as headquarters, trips were taken into New England and Canada. The letters are sane and realistic comments on everyday frontier life in its social, economic, and

political aspects made by an unobtrusive foreigner whose attitude was entirely unprejudiced and whose opinions few Americans thought it necessary to influence. Especially valuable are the discussions of the relations between Yankees and newcomers, the Americanization of Norwegians, and the popular attitude toward the events of 1848 in Europe.

The translation has been done into clear and idiomatic English and the notes explain expressions and allusions to things Scandinavian that the average reader would find obscure. No attempt has been made to provide a commentary on the many suggestive features of contemporary politics and society, and propaganda is pleasantly lacking. The volume is primarily a source and one that no student of the 'forties can neglect. Racial and national historical societies that consider it their mission to prove that everything good in American life can be traced to an origin in which their group had a determining influence would serve their cause better by following the enlightened policy and the high professional standards of the Norwegian-American Historical Association.

The University of Illinois. MARCUS L. HANSEN.

Lincoln and his Wife's Home Town. By William H. Townsend. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1929, pp. viii, 402, $5.00.) Mr. Townsend's central theme is the importance of Lincoln's marriage into an "aristocratic" Southern family as a factor in the development of his understanding of the South and of slavery. Through his Lexington contacts Lincoln saw contented and faithful slaves; but he also knew the "horrors" of the institution (though the chief example here is the brutality of a demented neighbor of the Todds whom the Lexingtonians condemned), and he saw pro-slavery intolerance exemplified in the scornful opposition to Cassius M. Clay's high-minded anti-slavery efforts. The book is highly useful for its treatment of Mary Todd, the "born politician"; and it throws light on such themes as C. M. Clay's support of Lincoln in 1860, the struggle over secession in Kentucky, and the friendliness toward Lincoln of his brother-in-law, Ben H. Helm, who declined a Federal army commission before entering the Confederate service. In expanding his seemingly limited theme, the author, a Lexington lawyer, has explored court records, newspapers, travel literature, and personal manuscripts. Though certain subjects—*e.g.*, Lincoln's relation to Kentucky's "neutrality"—are somewhat slighted, and important writings (as those of W. P. Shortridge and E. M. Coulter) seem not to have been used, yet the book is sound, readable, and deserving of recognition in the growing mass of Lincolniana.

The University of Illinois. J. G. RANDALL.

High Finance in the Sixties. [Chapters from the Early History of the Erie Railway by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Henry Adams, Albert Stickney, George Ticknor Curtis and Jeremiah Black.] Edited, with an

Introduction, by Frederick C. Hicks, Professor of Law and Law Librarian in the Yale School of Law. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929, pp. 410, $5.00.) This volume contains seven essays which originally appeared from July, 1869, to October, 1872, in various publications. The theme centers about the financial transactions of Jim Fisk and Jay Gould as reprinted from *Chapters of Erie*. In addition to the two chapters upon railroads and a third on the "gold Conspiracy", there are four chapters dealing with the conduct of lawyers (particularly with that of David Dudley Field) relative to the notorious speculative litigations. Samuel Bowles, Francis C. Barlow, and Albert Stickney lead in the attack upon the Erie attorney and Judge Barnard; whereas George Ticknor Curtis and Jeremiah S. Black rose to the defense of Mr. Field.

By grouping in a single volume these particular essays, the editor has focused attention upon the relation between the barbarous speculative methods and the processes of justice which were relied upon to curb such rank injustices. The emphasis upon the conduct of legal counsel implies a responsibility on the part of that profession for the low moral tone of the time.

The Adams brothers courageously denounced the legalized pillage of the most brazen and unprincipled highwaymen who carried in their service the juridical officials and one of the most reputable legal firms of the Empire Commonwealth. The attack, defense, and routing of this juridical and legal reserve makes fitting addition to *Chapters of Erie*. In time and subject matter there is a unity in this volume, which is not found in that of 1871.

The editor, in a fifteen page introduction, has very effectively narrated the facts which give the reader necessary explanation of these essays. In addition he has described the standards and ethics of the age. A selected bibliography of the authors and of the leading characters of the essays is included, as well as five illustrations of the chief actors.

J. L. S.

Uncle Sam's Camels: the Journal of May Humphreys Stacey, supplemented by the Report of Edward Fitzgerald Beale, 1857–1858. Edited by Lewis Burt Lesley, M.A., Associate Professor of History, San Diego State Teachers College. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1929, pp. 298, $4.00.) Uncle Sam's camels were the result of Secretary of War Jefferson Davis's attempt to provide economical transportation for army supplies in the Southwest. In 1856–1857 two ship-loads of eighty Egyptian and Turkish camels were brought to Texas by the War Department. Some of them were then tested by being taken across the southern continental route in a road-surveying expedition under the command of Lieutenant Edward F. Beale. The camels seem to have proved their worth as beasts of burden, but Congress authorized no further purchases of them. Soldiers and army mule-drivers cordially disliked the camels, and finally the War Department sold most of them at auction. The coming

of the Civil War engrossed the attention of Congress, and the question of camels was forgotten. Some of the camels were turned loose, and seem to have taken refuge in the wilds of Arizona, northern Mexico and Nevada, where occasional specimens were seen as recently as 1907.

The volume under consideration consists of the hitherto unpublished journal of May Humphreys Stacey, a boy who accompanied Beale's first expedition with the camels; of introductory and concluding chapters by the editor; and of an appendix composed of Lieutenant Beale's report to the Secretary of War. Of the two journals, Beale's is the more interesting; and an effort has been made to enliven the somewhat dreary chronological record of Stacey by the insertion in footnotes of portions of Beale's report. The editor has done his work well. It may be fairly assumed that this volume should be the final word on the camels of the Southwest, and that it is of value in bringing new light to bear on an obscure subject.

Tempe State Teachers College. RUFUS KAY WYLLYS.

A Vaquero of the Brush Country. By J. Frank Dobie. Partly from the Reminiscences of John Young. Illustrated by Justin C. Gruelle. (Dallas, The Southwest Press, 1929, pp. xv, 314, $3.50.) That portion of Texas which lies between the Nueces and the Rio Bravo was a disputed borderland long after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo formally vested its sovereignty in the United States, or in the state of Texas, as may have been the case at that time. Its early population was mixed Mexican and *gringo*, with both races represented among the *rancheros, vaqueros,* gamblers, patriots, *bandidos,* and cow-thieves. Its nomenclature was wholly Mexican. The thorny brush was the *brasada,* the men who rode after cattle were *vaqueros,* not "cowpunchers". Both coastal plains and brush country were filled with wild cattle, wild horses, and wilder men. The physical characteristics of the region, as well as its proximity to Mexico, set it apart in custom and tradition from the western plains. Although rich in local history and legend, it has never had its historian until now. Fortunately for its fame, however, the *brasada* produced J. Frank Dobie, collector of folklore and social historian of the Texas cow-country, and himself a *vaquero* not so many years ago.

Around the life-story of a veritable old-time *vaquero* and cattle man, John D. Young, who is allowed to tell his yarn in the first person, Dobie weaves the history of this region from the advent of the cattle men in the eighteen-fifties to the coming of barbed wire, windmills, blooded cattle, good roads, tax collectors, and other harbingers of civilization. The tale winds in and out, holding up now and then the narration of Young's personal experiences to describe the peculiar conditions and customs of the country. It tells about the wild cattle and the wilder "mossy horns", killed in the early days for their hides and tallow, about the famous feuds of the border, the growth of ranches, fighting with Mexican *bandidos* and American cattle thieves, the painful toil and the dangers of running cattle

in the thorny *brasada*, and "prongs out" about cattle drives up the old Chisholm trail, a ranching venture on the plains, dodging Comanches and Billy the Kid's outlaws, about strange adventures here and there, and finally about John Young's removal to the trans-Pecos country where a cowman still has room to breathe freely. The old cowman's story would have been interesting if it stood alone, but Dobie has filled in liberally from his own extensive acquaintance with the history of the country, with the result that the book has gained merit as real social history. The style is vigorous, vivid, and piquant, and the book will be treasured by students of western lore. Its value is further enhanced by good typography, excellent illustrations, an appendix of sources for the chapter on "The Bloody Border", and a good index.

The University of Texas. CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

The Truth about Geronimo. By Britton Davis, edited, with an Introduction by M. M. Quaife. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929, pp. xvii, 253, $4.00.) It is no wonder that the glamour of romance, which surrounds our Indian wars, should have attached itself with peculiar intensity to the name of Geronimo. The feats which he accomplished savor of the miraculous. For five years he was almost constantly at war with both the United States and Mexico; and in his final campaign of 1885–1886, his band, consisting of thirty-five men and eight boys, encumbered with the care of one hundred and one women and children, maintained itself for eighteen months against five thousand United States troops and perhaps as many more Mexicans, friendly Indians, and armed civilians. The genius of the Indian for guerilla warfare was never more conspicuously illustrated.

Mr. Davis, a former cavalry officer, was on duty in the Department of Arizona from 1882 to 1885. His various assignments brought him into close touch with the Chiricahua Apaches, both during hostilities and during the short intervals of temporary peace, and he was an eyewitness of some of the most extraordinary exploits of Geronimo and his band. *The Truth About Geronimo* is rather a volume of memoirs than a military history. But the author does not trust exclusively to his recollections, and he has made good use of the printed sources, especially in regard to matters which have become the subject of controversy. The result is a straightforward narrative of personal experiences, interestingly told and interspersed with lively and amusing anecdotes. The book is illustrated by twenty-six contemporary photographs.

The Geronimo campaign, like so many others, has given rise to its full share of controversial literature. Praise and blame are seldom distributed to the satisfaction of all concerned. There was a good deal of both to be distributed in this case and they seem to have been apportioned even less satisfactorily than usual. Mr. Davis is loyal to the memory of General Crook, his former commanding officer, and of others with whom

he served, and he feels most strongly that those who succeeded them were the recipients of many undeserved laurels.

Mr. Davis has great sympathy for the Apaches who were, as he says, "nomadic people who all their lives had roamed unrestrained throughout the Southwest, with generations of nomadic blood behind them, herded now into a small tract of desert land and told to sit down, fold their hands and be 'good Indian' no matter how much we lied to and robbed them". Their outbreak was certainly not without contributory guilt on our part. But of Geronimo himself, he writes, "This Indian was a thoroughly vicious, intractable and treacherous man. His only redeeming traits were courage and determination".

The Truth About Geronimo is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Apaches and it throws light upon many incidents in the career of Geronimo which have hitherto been obscure.

Princeton University. JOSEPH C. GREEN.

Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest, their Myths, Legends, Fiestas, and Ceremonies, with some accounts of the Indian Tribes and their Dances; and of the Penitentes. By Earle R. Forrest. (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1929, pp. 386, $6.00.) This is a tourists' guide to the historical antiquities of New Mexico and Arizona. The author is one of the multitude who, having once visited the Southwest, have never been able to free themselves from its web of mystery and romance. Since his cowboy days there, Mr. Forrest has continued his travels, making notes and taking pictures, and now he has written a book.

It deals chiefly with Pueblo Indians and Spanish missions. It does not touch the cliff dwellers. In form it is a series of separate sketches, historical and descriptive, arranged geographically in groups, corresponding to trips that the tourist might take. A number of these trips radiate from Santa Fé or Albuquerque. Further west there are journeys to the pueblos and mission of the Zuñi, Hopi, and southern Arizona districts. Then follow two chapters on Pueblo dances. For each region the author indicates present day conditions of travel. There is a map.

There is much to praise in the book. It is well written and beautifully illustrated. The Spanish names are correctly spelled in most cases, which can not be said of some books by better known authors. The Indian dances are described with the touch of one who has seen them. Some of the outstanding episodes of history are well told.

Considered as history, there are many things to criticize in the volume. An introductory survey, presenting in sequence the outstanding episodes of New Mexico and Arizona history, would have given unity to these detached local histories and greatly enhanced their interest. Though Mr. Forrest's historical information may be sufficiently accurate for his purpose, in many spots it is far from reliable. He follows the long discredited story that Santa Fé was founded by Oñate in 1605. He accepts an obsolete version of the Rodríguez expedition. In his bibliography the

works of Hackett, Mecham, Hammond, Sedgwick, and other recent scholars are not listed. It is difficult to say by what strange process he got the idea that Father Escalante went to Los Angeles during his famous journey to the Great Basin; that Father Garcés discovered or ever saw Escalante's ford over the Colorado; that Garcés founded the city of Tucson and "enclosed the entire pueblo in 1772 by a high adobe wall"; or that the Guevavi and Tumacácori missions were founded before San Xavier del Bac. These are just a few of numerous illustrations that might be given.

Equally serious is the lack of historical perspective. In Mr. Forrest's account, New Mexico and Arizona are hung in midair, apart from their base in Mexico, of which they were but outposts. "North America" and "the United States" are used interchangeably. And so we find this astounding label on the picture of the ruins of San Gabriel: "Built in 1598, this is all that is left of the oldest building constructed by Europeans in North America"! All up the Atlantic coast of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina there are ruins of buildings erected by Europeans before 1598. Through this same lack of perspective the author brings into his narrative a number of absurd "firsts" and "onlies".

If it were suitably published, and advertised for what it really is, Mr. Forrest's book would doubtless have a wide sale. But it is printed in a "limited edition" (elastic, perhaps) at $6.00 a copy. This is unfortunate, for, being a book for tourists and not for scholars, it will by reason of its inaccessibility fail of its potential usefulness.

The University of California. HERBERT E. BOLTON.

A Short History of California. By Rockwell D. Hunt, Ph.D., Dean of the Graduate School, University of Southern California, and Nellie van de Grift Sánchez. (New York, T. Y. Crowell Company, 1929, pp. xvi, 671, $4.50.) The authors of this work have been for years among the leading students of California history. It is no surprise, therefore, that they have produced what is easily the best single-volume history covering the entire field that has ever been published. This is not necessarily high praise, and does not imply that the volume under review is entirely satisfactory. Spanish and Mexican days take up twenty chapters, slightly less than half of the book, and are the work of Mrs. Sánchez. In the remaining twenty-five chapters comes the American period, prepared by Professor Hunt. At the end of each chapter is a useful list of references for further reading. Somewhat more care might have been employed in style of entry here. There is no general bibliography. A number of maps, illustrations, and appendixes adequately supplement and embellish the text, and there is a good index.

The main contribution of the authors is in condensing already well-known material into a one-volume space, with a reasonable degree of accuracy. Nevertheless, mistakes now and then appear. Perhaps the most noteworthy instance is in the revival of the legend that Serra pre-

vented the abandonment of California by the expeditions of 1769. This story rests wholly on the much later account of Palóu, and is directly contrary to contemporary evidence that Portolá had every intention of maintaining the conquests made. This item is illustrative of a tendency that is marked throughout both portions of the work to return to the field of local annals, failing to accord California her place in the field of national and world affairs. This certainly is not due to "Californian modesty", but seems to reflect the point of view of two scholars whose main interest is in local happenings. At times this point of view verges upon immoderate enthusiasm in the American part of the work, as in such phrases as "Marshall's gold discovery at Coloma stands unique in the annals of man" (p. 371) and others of its kind.

Though chronology now and then dodges back and forth, the reviewer found the work agreeably written. Possibly his own preference for the Spanish field made him enjoy that part more. In the American portion there is often such an attempt to crowd everything into narrow limits that the result is confusing. The Death Valley incident (pp. 392–395) is a sample of this, although the chapter entitled Events following the Civil War is unquestionably the most wearying catalogue of names and events in the book.

The University of California. CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

Arnold Guyot et Princeton. Par Leonard Chester Jones, Docteur ès Lettres, Associate Professor of History, Union University. (Neuchâtel, Secrétariat de l'Université, 1929, pp. 125.) Much may be said for the proposition that states have conferred greater benefits upon their neighbors through those whom they have forced to emigrate, victims of persecution or revolution, than by any other means. Arnold Guyot is an illustration. Deprived of his professorship at Neuchâtel, when a petty revolution destroyed the "Académie", Guyot brought his passion for research and his untiring energy to America, and exerted a wide influence upon the study of geology and geography from Princeton as a center for thirty years. Mr. Jones has not attempted a full length portrait. In a sense the sketch is addressed to the Neuchâtelois, to describe the American phase of the work of their distinguished fellow-townsman. It also explains to Guyot's Princeton admirers the milieu from which he came. Up to this time the best sketch of Guyot's career has been the *Memoir* which his friend James D. Dana read before the National Academy on April 21, 1886. Mr. Jones has discovered much new material especially in Guyot's letters preserved in private collections. A selection from these makes up the fifth section of the work. What a part Guyot played in the history of American science is indicated in the long bibliography which is appended. Not the least contribution which he made to education was the series of geographies which he prepared and which had a large circulation in the schools. It should be noted also that he was a forerunner in the work of recording meteorological observations. The

author has published in the *Faculty Papers* of Union College for January a briefer sketch in English.

American Foreign Relations: Conduct and Policies. By John Mabry Mathews, Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois. (New York, Century Company, 1928, pp. xiv, 700, $4.00.) The author presents from what he calls the point of view of political science rather than history a summary of various phases of American foreign relations of our own time: the Monroe Doctrine, Mexico, Nicaragua, the Panama Canal, the Far East, the United States and the World Court, the United States and Peace. The chapters on these topics, combined with some introductory matter, have enlarged the same writer's *Conduct of American Foreign Relations*, published in 1922, to the text of which is now also added a brief five-page chapter on Popular Control of Foreign Policy, and two chapters, totaling thirty-two pages, on the Diplomatic Service and its Reorganization. No original research is expected in this type of publication, which is a convenient summary of live topics for classroom consumption. The new chapters are lucidly written, and though they occasionally have a professor's subjective smack, they seem to this professor, the reviewer, generally sound. There is observable a tendency to magnify the horrendous sounding of the word imperialism (pp. 53, 143), and at least the reviewer takes exception to attributing (p. 142) to amplifications of the Monroe Doctrine—rather than to the development of a distinct Panama policy—our relations with the Central American and Caribbean republics. At the ends of chapters are useful if not exhaustive suggestions for further readings. There is a quantity of useful appendix matter.

George Washington University. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

Readings in the Economic and Social History of the United States. By Felix Flügel, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Economics, University of California, and Harold U. Faulkner, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Smith College. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1929, pp. viii, 978, $3.75.) The title of this book of readings is a misnomer. The purpose of the editors is not to trace the social history of the American people in the broad sense in which "social history" is understood today. Instead the editors seek, in the words of Guy Stanton Ford, to "display the bases and something of the superstructure and organization of the economic life of the United States and something of the dominant forces behind structure and organization". The volume deals practically entirely with economic history.

The period covered by the readings is from about 1775 to the present. This time-line is broken into three segments by the dates 1820 and 1865. In each section the selections are arranged topically, in general the same topics recurring in each of the three divisions of the book. All the important phases of economic history are covered: agriculture, manufactur-

ing, commerce, transportation and communication, currency and banking, the tariff, business consolidation, westward expansion, organized labor, immigration, and economic imperialism.

Each chapter is opened by a brief introductory note the purpose of which is to outline the important points or events in the particular phase of history being covered. The selections which follow are chosen from both primary and secondary material. A few examples will suggest the type of material employed. For the tariff of 1816 the editors use a quotation from Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860*. A description of the Independent Treasury system is taken from President Polk's first annual message. The causes for localization of manufacture since the Civil War are explained by a quotation from the volume on manufactures in the twelfth census. The philosophy of the I. W. W. is set forth in a few paragraphs from Vincent St. John, *The I. W. W.: its History, Structure, and Methods*. The problem of government ownership or regulation of coal is discussed by excerpts from the report of the United States Coal Commission established by the Act of September 22, 1922.

In Appendix I. the editors present a well developed syllabus with reading references for a course in the economic history of the United States. Appendix II. contains a useful working bibliography obviously intended as a guide to students in the preparation of special papers.

The book is a well conceived and well executed piece of apparatus for the teacher of economic history. The student will find the volume rather hard going because there is a considerable amount of technical matter in it. But American economic development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is not to be grasped without an effort.

In the opinion of the reviewer the book is deficient in its treatment of the fisheries and of agriculture. The latter defect is of no small importance. It is difficult to understand why a book which goes into considerable detail in its treatment of manufacturing and commerce should begin the discussion of the basic industry of agriculture at 1820 and should omit in the period following the Civil War consideration of such topics as the creation and significance of the applied science of agriculture, the problems and importance of irrigation, the significance of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, or the theory and practice of agricultural coöperatives. Never before has the public welfare made it more desirable that intelligent city-dwelling Americans understand the peculiar problems of agriculture. The editors by their somewhat unbalanced treatment of American economic development have missed a real opportunity.

Yale University. RALPH HENRY GABRIEL.

A History of Labor Legislation in Illinois. By Earl R. Beckner, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Economics, Butler University. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. xiv, 539, $4.00.) Dr. Beckner

has made an admirable study of labor legislation in Illinois. His book is scholarly in its method, temperate in tone, and careful in its conclusions. As is necessary in any historical study of this sort, it is based upon an inductive study of legislation, court decisions, and social and economic forces which together contributed to the final outcome. The purpose and method of the book are well stated by the author in the preface: "The central problem in a study of this kind, as I see it, is the discovery and interpretation of the forces and causes, both proximate and remote, which have molded the labor code into its present form. For the most part, the laws themselves are mere resultants of these forces and points of departure for further evolution."

More than half of the volume is devoted to five topics, the other fourteen chapters dealing with subjects of lesser importance in Illinois. The chapter on the Legality of Labor Unions and their Methods concludes that the present situation does not give the workers their due rights; that they are adversely affected by the law, whereas associations of employers are seldom restricted. Dr. Beckner thinks that the most needed reform in labor legislation is to be found here. The law of 1910 on Safety and Health, on the other hand, put Illinois, which had previously been practically without factory legislation, in the front rank of states making provision of this sort. This result was largely due to the careful investigation carried on by the Health Insurance Commission appointed by Governor Deneen. Since Illinois ranks third as coal mining state, the mining code is more fully developed than any other. With the passage of the law of 1899, Illinois enacted one of the best labor laws on her statute books, and one of the most effective in the United States. The procedure followed in drawing up this statute, of having both employers and employees agree upon a bill in advance and give it their united support before the legislature, was used with remarkable success, and has been applied in other fields.

Although considerable space is given to a discussion of unemployment, the legislative achievements in this field have been disappointing. More important has been the legislation on workmen's compensation, where Illinois has followed the enlightened lead of Europe. The necessary impetus was given by the Cherry mine disaster in 1909, which was followed by the appointment of a commission, and final agreement upon a law which was enacted in 1911. There still remain gaps in the Illinois labor code which should be filled, but the reproach can no longer be directed against the state of being one of the most backward states in the Union in its social legislation.

The University of Illinois. E. L. Bogart.

The International Aspects of Electrical Communications in the Pacific. By Leslie Bennett Tribolet, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, pp. viii, 282, $2.50.) Dr. Tribolet's position as secretary of the

convention committee of the American delegation to the International Radiotelegraph Conference held at Washington in 1927 gave him access to a quantity of valuable source material which he has used to advantage in the book under review. Unfortunately this service also brought him into close contact with partisan influences from which he has not been able wholly to free himself, and his dissertation suffers, in the opinion of the reviewer, from undue emphasis upon an alleged British conspiracy against legitimate American interests. No one doubts the existence of a bitter rivalry between the cable and radio companies of the various powers for rights, privileges, and concessions in the Pacific world and especially in China. There is, however, some question as to the extent to which this rivalry has been inspired by British desire to exclude American news and American influence from the Far East. Like the All-America Cables Inc. (an American corporation) in South America, the two companies—the Great Northern and the Eastern Extension—which first established telegraph communication with China regarded a monopoly of the field as a necessary insurance for their heavy investment. Yet the quasi-monopoly of the two British companies (the Great Northern, although nominally Danish, is under British financial control) appears to have been effective only against the Americans. At the outbreak of the World War a French company and a German-Dutch company each had its independent cable connecting China with the outside world, while French land wires from Indo-China and Russian wires from Siberia still further weakened the monopoly position of the British. Much is made of the fact that, when the Commercial Cable Company (American) eventually laid a cable across the Pacific in 1904, 75 per cent. of the stock in this company was held by its two British rivals, thus enabling them to control its rates and policies. Dr. Tribolet may be correct in regarding this development as intended to strangle American interests in the Orient; but the material which he presents seems to indicate that, between 1880 and the outbreak of the World War, American capital was decidedly reluctant to venture into telegraphic communication in the Pacific area outside the regions made "safe" by the Monroe Doctrine and that the Commercial Pacific cable, without this British aid, probably would not have been laid. The book is attractively printed, and only a few typographical errors were noted; but the index leaves much to be desired.

Western Reserve University. G. Nye Steiger.

This World of Nations: Foundations, Institutions, Practices. By Pitman B. Potter, University of Wisconsin. (New York, Macmillan, 1929, pp. xix, 366, $4.00.) This series of essays, written with the conviction that the world "must . . . be . . . provided with organized international government commensurate with world-wide individual and international interests . . .", offers a solution in "voluntary but organized international coöperation". It is assumed that nations and individuals

act from motives of self-interest and recognized that there are "anti-foreign and anti-international" animosities. Just how the author hopes to introduce voluntary coöperation into the situation may not be clear to his readers. The scope of the work can be inferred from the subjects treated. Among them one finds the following: Antecedents of this World of Nations, Pan-Americanism, Treaties, the League of Nations, International Law, and Conferences.

The author seems to be writing for the average reader who wants general information. He believes "that any person reading almost the worst of our daily scourges (newspapers) consistently can obtain a reasonably good account of international affairs . . .". There is nothing new in the essays, with the possible exception of the prophecies. After warning us that the situation will "become a great deal worse before it becomes any better", we are later given the assurance "that nations are today nearer to the dawn of permanent peace than ever before". Within seventy years we are to see "complete unification of world markets and world supplies of . . . goods". Granting certain "ifs", by "about 1937" the United States will be in the League of Nations. The assumption that nations act from self-interest seems to break down in the case of Great Britain. By a "voluntary act" imperial Britain granted autonomy to the colonies and thus brought "decline of British dominance". "French policy is opportunistic" (p. 77). Are we to infer that the French do not act consistently from motives of self-interest?

Many of the dogmatic assertions will be challenged, but critics should admit that such a method is inevitable when Italian policies are described in ninety words and when the history of seventy nations is covered in sixteen pages. Ought one to criticize for the meagerness of the accomplishment or to admire the reckless courage of the author?

Western Reserve University. JACOB C. MEYER.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association for 1924 and 1925, which have now been distributed, contain the minutes of the meetings at Richmond and at Ann Arbor, the minutes of the Executive Council, and the reports of committees, together with accounts of the two meetings slightly abridged from those printed in the *Review*, and the proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch. The supplementary volume for 1925 has also appeared.

The office of the Association has a supply of the *Handbook of American Historical Societies*, prepared by the Committee on Handbook of the Conference of Historical Societies (1926). Copies may be had on request.

PERSONAL

Edmund Carlton Page, head of the department of history at the Northern Illinois State Teachers College in De Kalb, died on December 24. In addition to his interest in the work of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association, he was active in the work of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Edward Raymond Turner, professor of European history in Johns Hopkins University, died on December 31 at the age of 48. A graduate of St. John's College, he took his doctorate at Johns Hopkins in 1910. As a teacher he was longest associated with the University of Michigan, going there after one year in Bryn Mawr, and remaining until 1924. After the year 1924–1925 at Yale he accepted the chair at Johns Hopkins made vacant by the retirement of Professor John M. Vincent. Professor Turner's most important historical contribution was in the field of British constitutional history and particularly in the development of the cabinet. In 1927 he published the first volume of his *Privy Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 1603–1784* (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII. 385). The following year volume II. appeared (*ibid.*, XXXIV. 117). Two other volumes, *The Cabinet Council in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, are completed and the first has appeared. Professor Turner had planned another part on the *King, Ministers, and Parliament in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, but this was left unfinished. As a result of his teaching of European history came his books, written for college use as well as the general reader, on *Europe, 1450–1789* (1923), *Europe since 1789* (new ed. 1924), and *Europe since 1870* (1921). He became deeply interested in the question of war responsibilities and was commonly classified as a conservative in his attitude upon the problems involved. One of his

last articles was published in this *Review* in January, Sale of Securities, July, 1914. His death is a great loss to the fraternity of scholars.

William Stearns Davis died at Exeter, N. H., on February 15, at the age of 52. He was a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1900, and he took his doctor's degree there five years later. His early teaching was at Radcliffe, Beloit, and Oberlin colleges. From 1909 to 1927 he was professor of history at the University of Minnesota. His book on the *Roots of the War* (1918) was among the most widely read in the first period of the discussion on the origins of the World War. Among his other historical works were a *History of France* (1919), and a *History of the Near East* (1922). He also wrote historical novels which were valuable for the interpretation of the period which furnished their setting. Among these may be especially mentioned *Life on a Mediaeval Barony* (1923). In recent years he has devoted himself entirely to writing.

George Haven Putnam, president of the publishing house of G. P. Putnam's Sons, died on February 27 at the age of 85. He was a leading figure in securing the passage of the copyright bill of 1891, and did much to promote a better understanding among English-speaking peoples. He was founder of the English-Speaking Union in the United States. In addition to *Memories of a Publisher* (1915) and *Some Memories of the Civil War* (1924), he wrote *Books and their Makers in the Middle Ages* (1896), the *Censorship of the Church of Rome and its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature* (1907), and other historical works.

Bernard Moses, professor of history in the University of California from 1876 until his retirement a few years ago, died at his home near Berkeley on March 5, at the age of 83. He was a member of the United States Philippine Commission, 1900–1902. He was also sent as Minister Plenipotentiary on a special mission to Chile. As an historian his most important contribution was in the field of Spanish-American studies. Among his publications were: *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America* (1898); *South America on the Eve of Emancipation* (1908); *The Spanish Dependencies in South America* (1914); *Spain's Declining Power in South America, 1730–1806* (1919); and *The Intellectual Background of the Revolution in South America* (1926).

Arthur T. Hadley, the distinguished ex-president of Yale University, died on the steamship *Empress of Australia* in the harbor of Kobe, Japan, on March 6, at the age of 73. His contributions to the study of economics and public affairs were notable. For historians his most useful book was *Railroad Transportation, its History and Laws* (1885).

The new director of the Archives Nationales is Henri Courteault, archiviste paléographe. He was trained at the École des Chartes and is secretary of the Société de l'Histoire de France.

Students of the French Revolution will rejoice that Philippe Sagnac

is able to resume his lectures at the Sorbonne. His general subject is "Études sur la Civilisation en France et en Europe, de 1789 à 1800".

Significant of the increasing intellectual coöperation between scholars here and in Europe is the fact that the important review in the *Revue Historique* of the initial volume of the French documents on the origins of the war is written by Bernadotte E. Schmitt, of the University of Chicago, editor of the *Journal of Modern History*.

In December Professor Erich Brandenburg, of the University of Leipzig, was reappointed to membership for five years on the Historical Commission of the Reichsarchiv.

The Prince de Ligne, ambassador of Belgium to the United States, has founded a gold medal in the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, to be given to the student in the courses on the political and diplomatic history of Europe who presents the best essay on some phase of Belgian history. Another medal in the same school has been offered by Dr. Thomas H. Healy for the best essay on Roumanian history. This was done at the time of the visit of Professor Nicolas Jorga, of the University of Bucharest.

The prize of $1000 offered by the Society of Colonial Dames of America and the National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of New York has been awarded to Richard B. Morris for his recently published work entitled *Studies in the History of American Law* (Columbia University Press).

Professor Gaetano Salvemini, lately of the University of Florence, and Mr. B. Humphrey Sumner, of Balliol College, Oxford University, are lecturing at Harvard University during the current semester. Through an oversight, it has not been previously stated in this journal that Professor A. T. Olmstead, formerly of the University of Illinois, is now in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

The following appointments for summer sessions are noted: *University of Vermont*, Merle Curti, Smith College; *Harvard University*, Carl Becker, Cornell University, L. M. Larson, University of Illinois, and T. J. Wertenbaker, Princeton University; *Columbia University*, Wilfred B. Kerr, University of Buffalo, W. E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, Frank B. Marsh, University of Texas, Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, St. George L. Sioussat, University of Pennsylvania, Carl Stephenson, University of Wisconsin, and Arthur P. Whitaker, Western Reserve University; *Cornell University*, G. G. Andrews, University of Iowa; *University of Pennsylvania*, F. J. Klingberg, University of California at Los Angeles, and James G. Randall, University of Illinois; *Johns Hopkins University*, W. S. Holt and Lowell J. Ragatz, George Washington University; *George Washington University*, A. C. Wilgus, University of South Carolina; *University of Virginia*, Victor A. Belaúnde, University of Miami, Florida, Percy S. Flippin, Coker College,

E. L. Fox, Randolph-Macon College, C. C. Pearson, Wake Forest College, and H. H. Simms, Ohio State University; *University of North Carolina*, A. O. Craven, University of Chicago; *Duke University*, T. P. Abernethy, University of Alabama, Hastings Eells, Ohio Wesleyan, George D. Harmon, Lehigh University, and C. H. Smith, Carnegie Institute of Technology; *West Virginia University*, Carl Wittke, Ohio State University; *Western Reserve University*, R. B. Mowat, University of Bristol, England, and Charles W. Ramsdell, University of Texas; *Ohio State University*, Clarence E. Carter, Miami University, and Albert Hyma, University of Michigan; *University of Michigan*, C. E. Chapman, University of California, Frederic Duncalf, University of Texas, B. W. Bond, jr., University of Cincinnati, A. H. Lybyer, University of Illinois, and Arthur H. Hirsch, Ohio Wesleyan University; *Indiana University*, W. H. Stevenson, University of Louisiana, George B. Manhart, DePauw University; *University of Illinois*, W. T. Laprade, of Duke University; *University of Chicago*, R. G. Caldwell, Rice Institute, R. C. McGrane and Allen B. West, University of Cincinnati, F. Lee Benns, Indiana University, Verner W. Crane, Brown University, H. S. Lucas, University of Washington, L. C. MacKinney, Louisiana State University, and E. D. Salmon, Amherst College; *Northwestern University*, R. B. Way, Beloit College; *University of Iowa*, Charles E. Payne, Grinnell College, and Leonidas Dodson, Princeton University; *University of Texas*, A. K. Christian, University of Oklahoma, E. M. Coulter, University of Georgia, D. Y. Thomas, University of Arkansas, and R. N. Richardson, Simmons University; *Stanford University*, R. C. Binkley, Smith College, Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin, Carroll B. Malone, Miami University; *University of California*, A. S. Aiton, University of Michigan, David K. Bjork, University of California at Los Angeles, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, University of Chicago, and James F. Willard, University of Colorado; *University of Oregon*, Arthur C. Cole, Ohio State University.

At a meeting in November the Social Science Research Council made the following additional grants-in-aid: Hermann Beyer, Tulane University, to complete a study of the Maya Codex in Dresden, Germany, and write a commentary; James M. Callahan, West Virginia University, to complete a study of American foreign policy in relations with Mexico; Flora M. Fearing, Northwestern University, to complete a study of the voting behavior of individuals over a period of years, and of an entire community for four two-year periods; Halford L. Hoskins, Tufts College, to complete a study entitled "Mehemet Ali and the Powers", from material in the British, French, and Egyptian archives; Roy V. Peel, New York University, to complete a study of the nature and conditions of precinct political leadership in New York City; Erich W. Zimmerman, University of North Carolina, to complete a study of the time element in the production process in its relation to the problem of price and price control, with special reference to the distinction between agricultural annuals and perennials. On March 8 the Council announced the follow-

ing appointments to research fellowships: Eugene N. Anderson, University of Chicago, for a study of the Progressist party in Russia during the constitutional conflict; William H. Dunham, jr., to edit selected Plea Rolls of the fifteenth century; Howard W. Ehrmann, University of Michigan, for a study of Italian foreign policy, 1882–1915, with reference to the entrance of Italy into the World War; Glenn W. Gray, University of Nebraska, to prepare for publication Sir Simonds d'Ewes' Journal of the Long Parliament; Charles B. Judah, jr., Illinois State Teachers College, for a study of the North American fishing industry as a factor in determining English mercantile policy prior to 1713; Harold W. Landin, Ohio State University, for a study of the public career of Gouverneur Morris; James A. Maxwell, Clark University, for a study of federal subsidies to the Canadian provinces since Confederation; A. P. Nasatir, State College, California, for a study of Spain in the Mississippi Valley; Vernon J. Puryear, Albany College, for a study of the commercial policies of the great powers in the Near East, 1815–1878; Jean S. Wilson, Smith College, for a study of the English chancery in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. A special fellowship was given Dr. David Harris for the study of Balkan Diplomacy, 1875–1878.

Among the grants made at Harvard University on March 6 from the Milton Fund for the purposes of research are: to Charles H. Haskins, to continue studies in medieval culture; to Fulmer Mood, for investigation of the history of Anglo-American literature before 1640; and to Samuel E. Morison, for the preparation of the next volume of the tercentennial history of Harvard University.

Janet M. Woodburn, who has been editorial assistant on this *Review* since September 1, was appointed Assistant Editor by the Board of Editors at its meeting on December 30.

GENERAL

General review: Marc Bloch, *La Vie Rurale: Problèmes de Jadis et de Naguère* (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, Jan. 15); Lionel M. Gelber, *History and the New Biography* (Queen's Quarterly, Winter).

The American Council of Learned Societies held its twelfth meeting in New York City on January 31–February 1, 1930. The American Historical Association was represented by its two delegates, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson and Professor Edward P. Cheyney. Among others in attendance were Professors Evarts B. Greene, Dexter Perkins, William E. Lingelbach, Lynn Thorndike. The Council voted to provide funds for the undertaking or continuation, through 1930, of the following enterprises of interest to historians: Bibliography of American Travel, begun in 1910 by the American Historical Association, now to be completed in two years; a coöperative study of the *English Government at Work, 1327–1336*, under the direction of the Mediaeval Academy of America, by Professor James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, and a

group of collaborators; the compilation of a *Glossary of Medieval Italian Terms of Business* under the direction of the Mediaeval Academy of America, by Professor N. S. B. Gras, of Harvard University; the publication, in facsimile, with critical apparatus, of the *Chansonnier du Roy*, as the second volume of Professor Jean B. Beck's (University of Pennsylvania) *Corpus Cantilenarum Medii Aevi*, part expense of such publication being borne by the University of Pennsylvania Press; the continuation through 1930 of Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, begun in 1876 but practically suspended since Sabin's death in 1892.

Tyler Dennett, historical adviser of the Department of State, gave in *Foreign Affairs* for January an important explanation of the "Publication Policy" of the department. He believes it may fairly be "claimed that the Department of State now has, with reference not only to the publication of its correspondence but also to the use of its archives, the most liberal policy of any government in the world". One of the practical difficulties is the fact that under the law the Superintendent of Documents can not carry a large stock, as might a commercial publisher, with an expectation of eventual sale. The consequence is that *Foreign Relations* for even 1914, 1915, and 1916 are now out of print, and 1917 is nearly sold out. It is astonishing to find that only 28 copies of the *Proceedings of the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration*, published last year, and costing the government over $10,000, have been sold. The detailed explanations of this article are of great moment to all students of modern history.

The American Catholic Historical Association held its tenth annual meeting, concurrently with the American Catholic Philosophical Association, at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., December 27–28. Eight papers were read, on: Papal Concordats in Modern Times, by Rev. Dr. Edwin J. Ryan, Catholic University; the Lateran Concordat with Italy, by Rt. Rev. Dr. Philip Bernardini of the same institution; Old Vincennes, a Chapter in the Ecclesiastical History of the Middle West, by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., St. Louis University; Legal Aspects of the English Penal Laws, by Mr. Clarence E. Martin, Martinsburg, W. Va.; the Parliaments of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, by Rev. Dr. Robert H. Lord, Boston; Sources for the Early History of the Papacy to Gregory the Great, by Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan; Recent Books on Historical Method and their Application to Church History, by Rev. Dr. Peter L. Johnson, St. Francis College, Wisconsin; and the Need of a New Presentation of the Catholic Philosophy of History, by Dr. James J. Walsh, New York. The presidential address of Dr. Leo F. Stock, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, discussed Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy. The secretary reported an increase of membership and a treasury sufficiently sound to permit the undertaking of a series of publi-

cations. As volume I., it was decided to issue, this year if possible, the official correspondence between the United States and its ministers to the papal court. These officers were elected for 1930: president, Francis J. Tschan, Pennsylvania State College; first vice-president, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University; second vice-president, Rt. Rev. Mgr. M. J. Splaine, Brookline, Mass.; treasurer, Rt. Rev. Mgr. C. F. Thomas, Washington, D. C.; secretary, Rev. Peter Guilday, Catholic University. The association voted to meet in 1930 with the American Historical Association. L. F. S.

Princeton University has announced the creation of a School of Public and International Affairs, designed to give instruction to both undergraduate and graduate students. The faculty dealing with the field will be reënforced through visiting lectureships and exchange professorships. T. J. Wertenbaker, chairman of the department of history, has been appointed one of the ten members of the administrative board.

The University of London Institute of Historical Research proposes to publish a photographic reproduction of the *Statutes of the Realm*, published by the British Record Commission between 1810 and 1828, and now difficult to obtain. The price will depend upon the number printed. If 200 sets are ordered, the twelve volumes will cost subscribers between $200 and $250, single volumes between $17.50 and $22.50. Libraries or individuals likely to purchase are asked to write to the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, Malet St., London, W. C. I. The Institute also announces that the eighth annual Anglo-American Historical Conference will be held at the same address on July 4.

The Geneva School of International Studies, affiliated with the University of Buffalo, will begin its seventh session on July 14. Among the lecturers will be Isaiah Bowman, André Siegfried, Louis Eisenmann, and Henri Hauser. As before, the director, Professor Alfred Zimmern, conducts a seminar for advanced students. For further information the New York office at 218 Madison Ave., may be consulted.

The *Historical Outlook* (Dec., 1929) reviews in a series of articles developments in the teaching of the social studies in secondary schools during the last twenty years. The leading article, the Trend in Social Studies, by Charles A. Beard, opens with a characterization of Venable's *School History of the United States*, from which he derived his instruction in citizenship and social studies "about forty years ago", although the chief contrasts which he points out are between the textbooks of about 1900 and the present day, and describes how, while the historians were busy here and there with politics, battles, and diplomacy, "a number of things were going on in the outside world and in other departments of human knowledge"; in short, how the proponents of other social studies gradually crowded the historians into a much smaller corner. Other aspects of the same general theme are treated in three articles in the February issue. The leading article in the latter number

is a report, by Professor Arthur P. Watts, of the University of Pennsylvania, of the proceedings of the American Historical Association at Durham and Chapel Hill. The January number contains a suggestive characterization of the New Era in World History, by Professor W. E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Agricultural History, besides reprinting in the October number E. Merton Coulter's paper, a Century of a Georgia Plantation (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Dec., 1929), has an article by G. E. Fussell on the Size of English Cattle in the Eighteenth Century.

In the *Catholic Historical Review* for January is an instructive article on Cardinal Pole and the Problem of Christian Unity, by Gerald G. Walsh. Professor Walsh's conclusions are based upon a restudy of Pole's letters and his more formal writings. As to church unity, it is not surprising that Pole found it in acceptance of the historic authority of the pope, but this to many of his fellow countrymen simply meant submission. The writer finds in Pole a practical turn of mind in dealing under Queen Mary with the question of confiscated property. Nothing is said of the cruelties practiced at that time in the name of orthodoxy, but these quite as much as anything else made Pole's a losing cause. There are two other articles: the Earliest Settlements of the Illinois Country, by Gilbert J. Garraghan, and What is Meant by Catholic Emancipation, by Myles V. Ronan.

In the *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* for January 15, the editors, Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, indicate the direction in which they wish to develop their enterprise, now at the opening of its second year. In the first place, they ask their collaborators "de s'élever au-dessus de l'érudition pure; elle a ses organes, parfaitement adaptés à leur fonction; mais leur fonction n'est pas la nôtre". They ask them also to undertake more resolutely the study of contemporary facts, which are, they argue, indispensable to the comprehension, and even the knowledge, of past facts. As an illustration of the latter declaration, they have instituted in the section of the review entitled "Enquêtes" an inquiry about the "Problème Historique des Prix", for that problem vexes the mind of the economist today and at the same time touches one of the most important threads in the texture of history. The editors still plan to publish three or four articles in each number, but they intend to devote an increasing attention to productive research on similarly vital questions, to modes of coöperation among scholars, and to the development of museums and expositions, "ce vaste domaine de l'Iconographie économique que nous sommes seuls jusqu'à present à prospecter".

The rule by which the University of Chicago accepts the printing of abstracts by candidates for the doctor's degree in lieu of the earlier requirement of complete publication of theses gives interest to volume VI. *Abstracts of Theses* [Humanistic series] (University of Chicago Press,

1929, $3.50). Several theses, historical in treatment, were presented in departments other than history: for example, German Governmental Influence on Foreign Investments, in the department of political science, and Diplomacy and Propaganda of the Peloponnesian War, in the department of Greek.

A reference book of great value for the student of recent history, as well as for the journalist and man of affairs, is the *Political Handbook of the World*, edited by Walter H. Mallory, for the Council on Foreign Relations (Yale University Press, 1930, pp. 198, $2.50). The subtitle indicates further its contents, *Parliaments, Parties, and the Press*, and the date to which it is revised is January 1, 1930. A first handbook of this type was issued in 1928, and proved so serviceable that the Council proposes to make it annual. It is arranged by states alphabetically, so that King Zog I. stands at the head of the line, and the first editor on the list is called Xhevat Kallajxhi. The *Handbook* in each case gives the chief of state, the premier, the strength of parties in the parliaments or legislatures, short characterizations of parties and programs, and a list of the principal newspapers, at least of those most quoted abroad. The names of cabinet officers appear in the lists of party leaders, but not separately.

The seventh edition, revised and enlarged, of William R. Shepherd's *Historical Atlas* (New York, Holt, 232 plates, $5.00) adds not only maps on the changes brought about by the World War, but also maps portraying phases of life which are gaining additional emphasis in schools and colleges; a map, for example, on Mediaeval Industry, another on the Enfranchisement of the Towns. Certain maps are redrawn to a different scale and the color scheme improved. There is less change in the American section, although no. 216 is a new map on Hispanic America, 1928–1929.

A ninth revised edition of Hans von Schubert's masterly introductory survey of church history (Grundzüge der Kirchengeschichte) is published by Mohr, Tübingen, 1928.

ANCIENT HISTORY

The joint expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the British Museum in ancient Chaldea made some interesting discoveries recently on the site of Ur, especially four bull's hoofs, life size, of copper hammered over wood. Although no trace of the head or body has been found, the discovery proves the existence of sculpture in metal on a large scale as early as 3500 B.C. Another discovery, more recently announced, was a small brick-built foundation box "in which stood still undisturbed the copper figure of the king bearing on his head the basket of mortar and, before his feet, the stone model brick inscribed with the dedication of the building" in 1900 B.C. C. Leonard Woolley, field director, reports that thanks to the extraordinarily clear stratification of the soil through which shafts have been sunk, an assured basis has been gained

for the chronology of southern Mesopotamia from the first settlement to the close of the Sargonid period, or about 2600 B.C. The work of the Pennsylvania Museum at Meydum, in Egypt, fifty miles south of Cairo, is equally productive. The expedition this season has been engaged in clearing the great pyramid of Seneferu. Among the débris of the interior passages were found loose blocks of stone with quarrymen's marks, on one of which was written the single work *aperu, i.e.*, 'crew' or 'gang'. In addition to this, work has been carried on at a mastabah near by, probably belonging to the royal family, a tomb 320 feet long by 160 wide, which was found to be honeycombed with "intrusive" burials dating from the new empire, 1580 B.C., or about fourteen hundred years after the completion of the tomb. In many cases more than one burial had been made in a single grave. Evidences of robbery were manifold.

In Egypt since the fall of 1924 a University of Michigan expedition has been engaged in excavating the mound of Kôm Aushim which marks the site for the Hellenistic Roman town of Karanis (ca. 260 B.C. to 460 A.D.) on the northern border of the Faiyum. The purpose of the excavation has been to make a thorough study of the site from all aspects of its cultural and material history. This has entailed the systematic removal of a mound about 1 km. long by 600 meters wide rising to a height of about 14 meters above the original ground level. The efforts to recover the town plan in the various stages have been very successful, likewise the study of the private houses. A fine stone temple (of Sarapis ?) has also been unearthed, and several large granaries. The houses have yielded a rich store of coins, household utensils, glassware, pottery, furniture, and agricultural implements. The finds of papyri and ostraka have been both numerous and important. The extensive botanical and zoölogical material that has been found will throw a great deal of light upon agricultural conditions, and, as in the case of the find of central African mahogany, upon commercial contacts with the outside world. Not the least important among the discoveries have been a series of wall paintings from private houses portraying Hellenistic-Egyptian divinities. Some skeletons have been taken from the cemetery for anthropological studies.

In Mesopotamia a joint expedition of the University of Michigan and the Toledo Museum of Art has now been at work for two seasons at Tell Umar. This site has been positively identified by inscriptional evidence as that of the successive cities of Sumerian Anshak, Babylonian Opis, and Hellenistic and Parthian Seleucia. A large part of the town was found to have been built in rectangular blocks of 250 by 400 feet, divided by streets. One of these blocks was occupied by a Parthian palace with walls 6 feet thick, forming a complex of about 178 rooms. The walls surrounding the sacred precinct of the ziggurat have been identified, and two brick vaulted tombs, one of exceptionally fine construction, have yielded a great quantity of jewelry and beads. Coins, pottery vessels, and clay figurines have been found in large quantities. Dated tax receipts seem to place the third occupation level at 229–165 B.C.

A. E. R. B.

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has published an illustrated report of the important results already reached through its geological survey in the Nile Valley under the title of *Paleolithic Man and the Nile-Faiyum Divide*, by K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell (University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. 77, plates xi, map, $5.00). This is volume I. of the series called Prehistoric Survey of Egypt and Western Asia. The purpose of the geological survey is to date the remains of human activity found in the region. The present expedition discovered a Nile terrace which could be followed out of the Nile gorge through a gap into the Faiyum. This terrace contained artifacts in a continuous series from the outgoing Paleolithic to the incoming Neolithic. As Dr. J. H. Breasted remarks in his foreword, "For the first time we are possessed of evidence which carries human development in the Nile Valley, and indeed in Northeastern Africa, from the earliest stages of the Paleolithic . . . to the Neolithic of probably not more than eight or ten thousand years ago".

In Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 40, Allen B. West has studied for the American Numismatic Society *Fifth and Fourth Century Gold Coins from the Thracian Coast* (New York, 1929, pp. 183, plates xvi.). An interesting question concerns the models on which these coins were minted; were they Athenian or Persian? Professor West reviews in detail the coins of Thasos, Maroneia, Aenus, Amphipolis, and those of Athens for comparison. His conclusion is that it was Persia that furnished the models. Any influence of this kind that Athens might have exerted in better days vanished with the disintegration of her empire. The plates fully illustrate the many coins listed.

Those whose associations with *De Bello Gallico* are not unmixed with pain should be able to get upon better terms with Caesar through the *Guide Illustré des Campagnes de César en Gaule*, by L. A. Constans (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1929, pp. 133, 8 plates and map). The author is known for his critical editions of Caesar's *Gallic War*, but his aim in this little book is to offer a guide to the intelligent tourist who desires to follow the line of Caesar's marches, to visit and identify his battlefields, and to see what may remain of the towns which he mentions. Detailed sketches, a general map, and airplane photographs facilitate the task.

A work of great erudition and value for the patristic period is that by Chr. Baur, *Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, vol. I., *Antiochien* (Munich, Hueber, 1929, pp. xl, 330).

Books of interest in this field: F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum: Pre-Hellenic and Early Greek* (British Museum, 18 s.); Bernard Ashmole, *Catalogue of Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 84 s.); Eugenie Strong, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Possession of the Right Hon. Lord Melchett* (Oxford, University Press, 63 s.); V. Gordon Childe, *Danube in Prehistory* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929, 42 s.).

Noteworthy articles: René Cagnat, *Nos Savants dans l'Afrique du Nord depuis un Siècle* [results of excavations since the Algerian conquest] (Revue des Deux Mondes, Dec. 1); Helmut Berve, *Sparta* [fixity of its political forms does not imply sterility of public life or of spiritual vitality] (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXV. 1); Walther Schwahn, *Die Nachfolge Alexanders des Grossen*, I. [period of the Diadochi in the light of the last half-century's investigations] (Klio, XXIII. 2); Fritz Schachermeyr, *Die Gallische Katastrophe* [attack on Rome, 390 B.C.] (*ibid.*); R. Hennig, *Der Hafen Kattigara und der Magnetberg des Ptolemäus* [Kattigara was in the bay of Hangtschou; Ptolemy was acquainted with the east Asiatic coast as far as the old Yangtze mouth] (*ibid.*); Eugène Cavaignac, *Peut-on Reconstituer l'Échelle des Fortunes dans Rome Républicaine* (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, Oct.); A. Grenier, *Aux Origines de l'Économie Rurale: la Conquête du Sol Français* [Celtic and Gallo-Roman periods] (*ibid.*, Jan.).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Speculum for January, 1930, contains an important addition to the study of medieval culture in the Ancient Classics in the Mediaeval Libraries, by James Stuart Beddie. A useful appendix lists the library catalogues of the period 1050–1250, which have appeared in print, but which are not listed in Theodor Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, or which have appeared in later editions since the publication of Gottlieb's register (1890). Other items of interest are the *Bellum Troianum* of Joseph of Exeter by Walter Bradbury Sedgwick and part V. of Professor Conant's report on the Mediaeval Academy excavations at Cluny.

The *Revue des Questions Historiques* (Oct., 1929) has an interesting contribution, Charles VII et Jeanne d'Arc by Tony Catta, and an important review of Augustin Fliche's *La Chrétienté Médiévale* (395–1254) by B. A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé. In the January, 1930, number are several essays worthy of note: André E. Sayous writes of Les Opérations du Capitaliste et Commerçant Marseillais Étienne de Manduel entre 1200 et 1230, and Abbé Rony deals with La Légation d'Hugues, Archevêque de Lyon, sous le Pontificat d'Urbain II (1088–1099).

It is expected that the manuscript for the revised edition of Paetow's *A Guide to the Study of Mediaeval History* will be in the hands of the printer this spring. Over fifty scholars have assisted in the revision of this important work which is being prepared under the auspices of the Mediaeval Academy. F. S. Crofts is to be the publisher. Paetow's plan has been followed and the important literature for the last twelve years has been added. Some new sections reflecting the special interests of the recent period are also included.

A highly commended study of the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages is offered in Ernst Stein's *Geschichte des Spätrömischen*

Reiches. Bd. I.: *Vom Römischen zum Byzantinischen Staate* (284–476 A.D.). Vienna, Seidel and Son, 1928.

The first volume of the long awaited work by J. F. Kenney on *The Sources for the early History of Ireland* has been published by the Columbia University Press in the Records of Civilization series. The terminal date of this volume, which treats only ecclesiastical material, is 1172.

Investigators in the fields of medieval Latin, early English history, and Old English language and literature will welcome the appearance of the very complete *Concordance to the 'Historia Ecclesiastica' of Bede* by Putnam Fennell Jones, published for the Concordance Society by the Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1929, pp. ix, 585.

The Loyola University Press, Chicago, has published *Early Christian Latin Poets from the Fourth to the Sixth Century* by Otto J. Kuhnmuench.

The important work, *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions,* by the Reverend Father H. Lammens, S.J., of Beirut, has been translated by E. Denison Ross and is published by Dutton.

The eleventh Ergänzungsband, 1929, of *Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* is a feierschrift to Oswald Redlich on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. It contains fifty-seven essays, of which several are important contributions to medieval history.

The S. P. C. K. has added to its useful little manuals a work on *Seals,* by H. S. Kingsford.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Falco, *Lineamenti di storia cassinese dall' VIII all' XI sec.* (Rivista Storica Italiana XLVI., n. s. VII., July, 1929); E. Sommer von Seckendorff, *Die heilige Katharina von Siena und ihr neuester Biograph* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XLIX. 3); H. Hefele, *Zum Begriff der Renaissance* (*ibid.*); W. Betzendörfer, *Glauben und Wissen bei Anselm von Canterbury* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVIII. 3–4); P. M. Baumgarten, *Kritische Bemerkungen zum XI., XII., und XIII. Band von Pastors Papstgeschichte* (*ibid.*); K. Woltereck, *Zur Gründung von Goslar und Braunschweig* [Preliminary article stating the problem] (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, Oct.); G. Espinas, *Groupe Économique, Groupe Religieux: les Tisserands de Valenciennes au XIV^e Siècle* (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, Jan.); T. Wingate Todd, *The Medieval Physician* (Annals of Medical History, Nov.); Roland H. Bainton, *The Immoralities of the Patriarchs according to the Exegesis of the Late Middle Ages and of the Reformation* (Harvard Theological Review, Jan.); O. L. Schreiber, *Medieval Libraries* (Lutheran Church Quarterly, Oct.).

D. C. M., G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The March *Journal of Modern History*, which opens the second year of its career, contains a report on the Modern European History section of the American Historical Association, by C. P. Higby, the chairman of the Advisory Board. The articles in this number are the Statute of 1696: a Pioneer Measure in the Reform of Judicial Procedure in England, by Samuel Rezneck; Geopolitical Conditions of the Evolution of Russian Nationality, by P. Bizilli; British Right of Search and the African Slave Trade, by Richard W. Van Alstyne; the Protégé System in Morocco, by Hugo C. M. Wendel; and the Importance of the Class Struggle in Modern History (concluded), by Halvdan Koht. There is also an appreciative sketch of the late Edward Raymond Turner. The bibliographical articles are noted elsewhere.

The new volume in the series of Landmarks of History is *Erasmus and the Humanists*, edited by Albert Hyma (New York, Crofts, 1930, pp. 109, $.85). With the exception of the "Letters of Obscure Men" the selections are from the writings of Erasmus: his Letter to Servatius, giving his reasons for not returning to the monastery at Steyn, two of his "Colloquies", happily including the "Shipwreck", and passages from the "Praise of Folly". Mr. Hyma has prefaced the volume with a short historical introduction, in which he has emphasized the independent character of Transalpine humanism; as, on the one hand, no mere echo of the Italian Renaissance, nor, on the other, an undeveloped Protestantism. One juxtaposition of dates in Mr. Hyma's comments on Erasmus may raise a query or cause a smile. He considers 1469 as the most probable date of Erasmus's birth and immediately adds, "From 1475 to 1486 he was strongly affected by the Brethren of Common Life in Deventer and elsewhere".

In preparing the most recent of the Berkshire series in European History, the *Second Hundred Years' War, 1689–1815*, Arthur H. Buffinton (New York, Holt, 1929, pp. 114, $.85), has faced a difficult problem. He has had available fewer pages for an important phase of modern history than the average textbook covering the period, and yet his book is to serve the purpose of collateral reading. For example, the Revolutionary and Napoleonic diplomacy and wars are dealt with in twenty pages. He has solved the problem as well as the plan permitted. His pages are well-informed, his style clear and direct. One good feature of the bibliography is reference to important periodical literature.

Kurzgefasste Geschichte des Methodism von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, zweite Auflage (Bremen, Verlagshaus der Methodistenkirche, 1929, pp. xii, 876). This coöperative work by John L. Nuelsen, Theophil Mann, and J. J. Sommer, first published in 1921, now appears in revised form extending the history to 1927. It is specially valuable for its account of the spread of Methodism in Europe.

Professor R. B. Mowat, of the University of Bristol, whose writings on the diplomatic history of Europe are so favorably known, has told the story of a critical century in *Europe, 1715–1815* (New York, Longmans, 1929, pp. 288, $2.40). He has not restricted himself to the staple of diplomacy and war, but has varied the tale with accounts of literature and life. For example, the volume opens with a short chapter on Characteristics, and in the fifth chapter returns to Life in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century. In dealing with the mid-century wars there is adequate attention to the American phase of the struggle. It is a pleasure to find in so brief a treatment well drawn sketches of such personages as Turgot and Necker. Certain misprints may be corrected in a later edition. For example, in Necker's *Compte Rendu*, the totals for revenues and expenses have changed places. Moreover, the Revolutionary calendar year did not always open on September 22.

A History of Modern Times, from 1789 to the Present Day, by D. M. Ketelbey (New York, Crowell, 1929, pp. 623, $3.75), differs from most of its predecessors by including a substantial chapter on the United States. In general the treatment shows a fresh approach. For example, the Age of the Armed Peace, a topic suggesting diplomacy and war, opens with a consideration of industrialism, followed by a long passage on Karl Marx and socialism, and the development of nationalism. It is a satisfaction to see that the author discovers in the Restoration period something besides political reaction, and that he mentions progress in industry. A statement in a note to the chapter on the Revolution of 1789 to the effect that only 400 of the 50,000 cahiers have been printed should be corrected.

From that treasure house of interesting material, the archives of the Russian embassy in London, comes the *Correspondance Diplomatique du Baron de Staal, 1884–1900*, edited by his nephew Alexandre Meyendorff (Paris, Rivière, 2 vols., 1929, 100 frs.). The period when Baron de Staal resided in London was critical for Anglo-Russian relations at least at the beginning, when the question of the northwestern frontier of India stirred talk of war, and at the end, when Russian ships had steamed into Port Arthur and forced a lease from the Chinese. Baron de Staal himself was an influence for understanding and peace. Of Baltic German extraction he did not sympathize with Pan-Slav dreams nor with the military clique, generals who were "as stupid as mules". It appears from his letters that Russian menaces in central Asia were designed chiefly to alarm the English and moderate their aggressiveness in other quarters.

It is fortunate that we now have an English edition of George Michon's *Franco-Russian Alliance, 1891–1917* (New York, Macmillan, 1929, $4.50), originally published in 1927 and reviewed here (vol. XXXIII. 874). The translator is Norman Thomas. Michon pointed out the significant *lacunae* in the *Documents diplomatiques, l'Alliance Franco-russe*, published by the French government in 1918, and said frankly that a satisfactory story of the alliance must await a fuller

publication of French documents. That will be when the first series of the new French collection reaches at least the year 1894.

Volume II. of the *Development of Modern Europe*, by James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard (Boston, Ginn, 1930, pp. ix, 661, xxvi, $3.60), is not so much a revision of the earlier work, published in 1908, as it is a new work. The theme is indicated by the subtitle, the *Merging of European into World History*. Instead of opening with the Restoration as did the edition of 1908, it begins with a chapter on the Heritage of the Twentieth Century. Its closing chapters indicate the newer outlook of the authors. The final chapter is on the Study of Mankind in Fiction. The treatment of all controversial matters connected with the war and its origins is in admirable tone.

William E. Rappard's lectures at the Williamstown Institute of Politics have been published under the title of *Uniting Europe* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, pp. xvii, 309, $3.00). Edward M. House has written a preface. The subtitle, the *Trend of International Coöperation*, further indicates the scope of the lectures. The first part deals with political and economic evolution of Europe since the war, while the second part takes up the various phases of coöperation without or within the framework of the League. Colonel House finds reason for gratification in Professor Rappard's statement that "Today . . . no government . . . is taking a more active, a more helpful part in the labors of all conferences, committees and subcommittees summoned to Geneva than the American Government".

The principal points in the history, organization, and accomplishments of the League of Nations are stated in a small volume with sympathy and yet with entire objectivity, by H. Wilson Harris (*League of Nations*, New York, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith [the New Library], 1929, pp. 127). In regard to the projected Disarmament Conference, he uses the phrase "if and when it is held". Although he thinks the League is still on trial, he believes that its achievements are such that its permanence is assured. At present he feels it is too much a European league, but this is not so serious because the dangers of war are also in Europe. One of the greatest advantages is that the "chief Foreign Ministers, of Europe at any rate, meet as a matter of ordinary routine at Geneva four times a year".

Noteworthy articles: Otto Hintze, *Typologie der Ständischen Verfassungen des Abendlandes* [in late medieval and early modern period, all western and central Europe had fundamentally similar systems of government by councils or parliaments representing the upper classes as against the ruler] (Historische Zeitschrift, CXLI. 2); G. Gabrieli, *L'Archivio di S. Maria in Aquiro o "Degli Orfani" in Roma e le Carte di Giov. Faber Linceo* [inventory of sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts] (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, LI. 1–2); O. H. Taylor, *Economics and the Idea of "Jus Naturale"* [chiefly a study of

the effect of the ethical-juristic conception of natural law on economic thought in the eighteenth century] (Quarterly Journal of Economics, Feb.); François Charles Roux, *La Mission du Comte Walewski en Égypte, 1840* [the début in diplomacy of Napoleon's natural son, later minister of foreign affairs under Napoleon III.] (Revue Historique, Sept.); Karl Lange, *Braunschweig im Jahre 1866*, I., *Braunschweig und die Schleswig-Holsteinische Frage* [Brunswick not pro-Austrian as hitherto supposed; it desired to hold aloof from support of either Austrian or Prussian policy] (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXV. 1); Edward S. Mason, *Blanqui and Communism* [from an obscure place in 19th century socialism, Blanqui has, since the Russian Revolution, been lifted to prominence. This article is an attempt at a "*just* evaluation".] (Political Science Quarterly, Dec.); Eduard Beneš, *Ten Years of the League* (Foreign Affairs, Jan.).

THE WORLD WAR

Two years ago Kurt Jagow, who was studying the story of the Potsdam Council, and who later published an essay entitled "Der Potsdamer Kronrat, Geschichte und Legende", asked M. Bompard, French ambassador at Constantinople in 1914, his recollections of the rumors floating about in Constantinople at that time. Bompard's reply is printed in full in the January number of the *Revue de la Guerre Mondiale*. It is not flattering to those who seem to have been taken in by the tales of Wangenheim. M. Bompard describes Wangenheim as released from an oppressive constraint when the news of the declaration of war reached Constantinople. He "déborda en manifestations exubérantes. Il parcourait les quais de Thérapia dans un état d'extrême surexcitation, interpellant le long du chemin les uns et les autres et s'arrêtant dans les hôtels pour communiquer ses télégrammes. . . . Le baron de Wangenheim, conscient de l'ascendant qu'il exerçait sur son collègue américain, s'étalait devant lui avec complaisance et donnait alors libre cours à ses fantaisies les plus outrancières. . . ."

The Austrian official history of the World War, *Oesterreich-Ungarns Letzter Krieg, 1914–1918* (Vienna, Verlag der Militärwissenschaftlichen Mitteilungen, Bd. I., 25 K.), holds the German General Staff in part responsible for the initial failures in Galicia, because it had been agreed that there should be at least seventeen divisions in East Prussia to cooperate against Russia. Instead there were nine. The work is not otherwise controversial, but a plain narrative, showing what the Austrian plans were and how they were carried into effect. The Austrian armies were originally grouped in a "Minimum Balkan", "Force A", and "Force B". Force B was a reserve which could be sent to support Force A in Galicia or used with Minimum Balkan on the Serbian frontier.

The controversy about the battle of the Marne still rages. This time the argument is made in a German work of five parts, *Das Marnedrama*, edited under the authority of the Reichsarchiv (Oldenburg, Stalling, each

pt. 5 M.), that Kluck's right wing on the Ourcq and Bülow's left wing near the marshes of St. Gond were on the point of victory when, on September 8, an order from headquarters caused the retreat. The movements of individual units are given in greater detail than was possible by the official military history.

A phase of the World War almost unknown, except to soldiers at the front, is described in the third volume of a *History of the Army Ordnance Service*, by Major General Forbes (London, Medici Society, 1929, 3 vols., 30 s.). This service did not provide arms and ammunition, but nearly everything else, even to hot-food containers for use in exposed positions where fires could not be lighted. To it also the soldier owed his steel helmet, his wire-breaker, his Yukon pack for grenades. When camouflage was devised the service had to furnish immense quantities of paint. It should be explained that ammunition came under the control of a Master General, while the ordnance service fell to the Quartermaster General. This division did not exist in earlier days, but was introduced in the period of the Crimean War.

An activity of the World War which preserved something of the spirit of earlier warfare is described in *En Patrouille à la Mer* (Paris, Payot, 1929, pp. 304, 25 fr.). The authors are four French seamen, Rear Admiral Forget, Captain Trabaud, Captain Bouissou, and Captain Faurie, and what they have written is simply an account of their adventures in the Mediterranean, one in command of an auxiliary cruiser, another of a destroyer, and a third as governor of the island of Rouad off the coast of Syria. The destroyer was fortunate enough to sink an Austrian submarine, but the auxiliary cruiser was itself the victim of a submarine. The fourth narrative has the suggestive title of La Guerre Joyeuse.

Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt's work on the origins of the World War, awaited with so much interest, is now in press. It will be issued by Scribner in two volumes under the title of *The Coming of the War*. It is expected late in the spring.

Articles of interest: *Neues zur Deutsch-Oesterreichischen Militärkonvention* [based on *Oesterreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der Bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914*] (Der Krieg, Jan.); Georg Graf Waldersee, *Über die Beziehungen des Deutschen zum Oesterreichisch-ungarischen Generalstabe vor dem Weltkriege* [from recollections and papers of Waldersee, a member of the staff, and finally Oberquartiermeister] (Kriegsschuldfrage, Feb.); Felix Debyser, *Le Gouvernement Britannique et la Question du Service Obligatoire, 1914–1918* (Revue d'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale, Oct.); Albert Pingaud, *L'Entente et les Balkaniques aux Premiers Mois de la Guerre* [the failure to win Greece was due to England, to win Roumania, the fault of Russia, to gain Bulgaria, that of all the Allies] (Revue des Deux Mondes, Nov. 1).

GREAT BRITAIN

In the *English Historical Review* for January, Frederick C. Dietz, of the University of Illinois, describes the development of Elizabeth's Customs Administration, pointing out the steady progress of centralization of collection, showing also how the government wavered between direct collection and a resort to tax farmers. If the treasury began to run low, the queen's officials preferred the 'bird in hand'. In one case John Swinnerton who took the farm of imposts on French and Rhenish wines at a rental of £15,000 cleared in profits almost an equal amount, which was rather better than a farmer-general could do in the days of Louis XV. The January number also contains articles reviewing the work of Thomas Frederick Tout, by Professor James Tait, and of Charles Victor Langlois, by Robert Fawtier.

A chair of American History has been founded at the University of London, largely through the efforts of a committee headed by Major George H. Putnam. Of the $230,000 subscribed in this country, $200,000 came from the Commonwealth Fund of which Edward S. Harkness is president.

The Clarendon Press announces the *Oxford History of England*, to be published in fourteen volumes, under the editorship of G. N. Clark. Consideration will be taken of social and economic factors as well as of political and constitutional movements. The history of science, of the arts, and of thought will also be included. Among the contributors will be A. L. Poole, E. F. Jacob, J. D. Mackie, J. B. Black, and Godfrey Davies.

Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire, is a posthumous work of the late Marquis Curzon of Kedleston, edited with additions by H. Avery Tipping (London, Cape, 30 s.). The story of Lord Curzon's connection with this castle will hardly be read by Americans without some feeling of mortification. After 1910 the castle came upon the market. Its four fifteenth century fireplaces were bought by a German dealer, with American partners, for sale in the United States. Twenty-four hours before it was too late, Curzon found that he could recover the fireplaces, which had already been removed, and save the castle from being dismantled, by assuring the dealer of a profit. He took instant action, and it is the history of the castle and of its restoration which is the subject of the volume.

E. Lipson's notable volume on the *Economic History of England* has now reached a fifth edition (New York, Macmillan, 1929, pp. 552, $5.00). The work was first published in 1915, and its subtitle is the *Middle Ages*. The author has in preparation two further volumes dealing with the Age of Mercantilism.

The Oxford University Press publishes, in pamphlets, for the British Academy, the Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lectures for 1927 and 1928, the

former, by Robin Flower, on Ireland and Medieval Europe, the latter, by Professor J. E. Lloyd, on Welsh Chronicles (Brut y Tywysogion); and the annual Italian lecture for 1929, by Dr. Camillo Pellizzi, on Romanticism and Regionalism (the effects of the Romantic movement in the Italy of the nineteenth century). The Academy also puts forth the *Second Report* on the excavations carried out under its auspices in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928, an illustrated report of 59 pages with many interesting data on matters of architecture, ceramics, sculptures, seals, and coins.

The American visitor to Canterbury, as well as the British archæologist, will find much of interest in *The Saxon Cathedral at Canterbury and the Saxon Saints buried therein*, by Charles Cotton, Hon. Librarian of the Cathedral (Manchester University Press, 1929, pp. xv, 111, 10 s. 6 d.). Dr. Cotton does not believe that any portions of the church, burned in 1067, remain above ground, not even the west wall of the crypt, which vergers of the cathedral for many years have explained to visitors was the west wall of St. Austin's crypt. One piece of evidence is the statement of Edmer that as the fire had rendered the church completely unserviceable Lanfranc "set about to destroy it utterly and erect a more noble one". The plan of the Saxon cathedral Dr. Cotton conjectures from the impression of the Convent seal, the ground plan of a Roman church at Silchester, and from an account given by Edmer. Dr. Cotton thinks that parts of the walls of the Saxon domestic buildings remain in the walls of the present domestic buildings. The later chapters of the book give accounts of the archbishops and other saints buried in the church. The volume is illustrated.

An incomparable flavor about an ancient charity gives interest to the little book on *Christ's Hospital Abingdon*, by Arthur B. Preston, its Master of 1929 (Oxford, University Press, pp. 66). The subtitle further suggests the contents, the *Almshouses, the Hall, and the Portraits*. The present foundation goes back to a royal charter of 1553, which partly repaired the work of destruction under Henry VIII., by which its predecessors, two earlier bodies known as the Fraternity of the Holy Cross and the Chantry of Our Lady, were brought to an end. Two of the largest endowments which in the fifteenth century came to the fraternity are believed by the author to have been symptomatic of Wyclif's influence, for such endowments prior to this time would have gone to the church rather than to a corporation of laymen.

The records of Bristol are especially rich, including a series of charters dating from 1155, and many other documents, deeds, wills, minute books, ordinances, from 1188. These records throw light incidentally upon oversea trade and relations with America. To publish this material a Bristol Record Society has been organized with Professor R. B. Mowat as honorary general editor. It is proposed to publish this year as a first volume an edition of the Bristol Charters, 1155–1373. A

prospectus of the society may be had from the Hon. Secretary at the University, Bristol.

The most recent of the Smith College Studies in History, vol. XIII., no. 4, is the *Receipts and Issues of the Exchequer during the Reigns of James I. and Charles I.*, by Frederick C. Dietz, of the University of Illinois. As the title suggests, it is made up chiefly of statistical tables. They do not explain themselves, and so Professor Dietz shows in an introduction how the figures are to be utilized. His purpose in printing them is to fill a serious gap in the material available for the study of the early Stuart period. Historians have talked about the close connection between taxation and constitutional development, and then have forgotten to furnish the financial details which lie behind the controversies.

Professor F. S. Rodkey, of the University of Illinois, published in the documentary section of the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. III., pp. 102 ff., Colonel Campbell's Report on Egypt in 1840, with Lord Palmerston's Comments.

A pageant will be presented at Ipswich during the week of June 23 in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Cardinal Wolsey, who was a native of this town.

In the February *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research, Anthony Steel continues his Marginalia of the Treasurer's Receipt Rolls, 1349–99, while G. E. Fussell reviews Eighteenth Century Agricultural Dictionaries, and Richard Pares supplements the *Guide to British West Indian Archive Materials*. Further information is given upon the Accessibility of Foreign Archives, this time in regard to Czechoslovakia and to Virginia.

Other books of interest: A. W. Brögger, *Ancient Emigrants: a History of the Norse Settlements of Scotland* (Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1929, 15 s.); F. S. Oliver, *The Endless Adventure, 1710–1727* [Sir Robert Walpole] (Macmillan, 15 s.); W. A. Carrothers, *Emigration from the British Isles* (London, King, 1929, 15 s.); Bernard Mallet, *British Budgets*, second series, 1913–1921 (London, Macmillan, 1929, 20 s.); G. C. Allen, *Industrial Development of Birmingham and the Black Country, 1860–1927* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1929, 25 s.); Lord Amulree, *Industrial Arbitration in Great Britain* (Oxford University Press, 1929, 12 s. 6 d.).

An article of interest: George E. Woodbine, *Cases in New Curia Regis Rolls affecting Old Rules in English Legal History* (Yale Law Journal, Feb.).

FRANCE

The first volume of the new *Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, edited by Gabriel Hanotaux and Alfred Martineau, has now appeared. Its general subject is L'Amérique, and its main topics are: les Colonies Éphémères et les Colonies Perdus, by Ch. de la Roncière; le Canada après le

Traité d'Utrecht, by Joannès Tramond; l'Arcadie, by Émile Laurivière; l'Archipel de Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, by Alfred Martineau; la Louisiane, by Emile Lauvrière; les Frances Équinoxiales, by Ch. de la Roncière; les Antilles après le Traité d'Utrecht.—la Guyane, by Joannès Tramond (Librairie Plon, 150 fr.).

The French appear to be taking an increasing interest in the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the capture of Algiers and the beginnings of their second great colonial empire. The second National Congress of the Historical Sciences in the current month is to make the history of North Africa and of the Mediterranean basin the theme of one of its two groups. A Centenary Collection upon Algeria has been already initiated. This will include five sections, in which historical subjects are well represented. In the section on archæology and history has just appeared *L'Iconographie Historique de l'Algérie, depuis le XVI^e^Siècle jusqu' en 1871* (Plon, 1929, folio), by G. Esquer, whose labors as archivist for a score of years in Algeria give especial authority to the work. The *Revue Historique* proposes to make a characteristic contribution through a volume in which specialists shall review what has been done and what remains to be undertaken in the history of Algeria. The eminent scholar, Stéphane Gsell, is to deal with the problem in its general aspects.

Among the *Mélanges* offered by the Société d'Histoire du Droit to its president, M. Paul Fournier, on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday was an essay by Charles H. Haskins, entitled Formulary of the Officialité de Rouen. The volume is to be counted as the first of a new series, Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit.

Crane Brinton's article on the Membership of the Jacobin Clubs, printed in this *Review* for July, 1929, is the subject of favorable comment by Albert Mathiez in the *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française* for November. Mr. Brinton established the bourgeois composition of the clubs by statistics of tax payments and of purchases of nationalized lands. This, Professor Mathiez remarks, incidentally shows that the Terror was not a dictatorship of the proletariat. His closing comment is that this new study "ouvre de larges perspectives à l'histoire scientifique de la Révolution".

A general summary of lectures which Georges Lefebvre gave last year at various British universities on the "Place de la Révolution dans l'Histoire Agraire de la France" is printed in the October *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, and offers the readiest means of ascertaining the position of the best French scholarship on a very complex question. M. Lefebvre's conception of the problem rests upon the distinction between a rural proletariat and a rural bourgeoisie, the latter hostile to any legislation that deprived it of common rights. It was because of the contrasting interests of these two sections of the rural population that there could be no united peasant movement to force a distribution of public lands as it forced the abolition of feudal properties, eventually

without compensation to the owners. To the article is appended a long and useful bibliographical note.

As André Siegfried sprang to instant fame in this country through his *America Comes of Age*, it is natural that Americans should feel some curiosity about what he says of his own people in *France, a Study in Nationality* (New Haven, Yale University Press, pp. 122, $2.00), the chapters of which were lectures delivered last summer at the Williamstown Institute of Politics. The comments on Foreign Affairs and on Post-War Politics are enlightening, but his analysis of the rôle of the French deputy in contrast to his brother M. P. across the Channel is of special interest.

Fascicle 46 of the publications of the faculty of letters of the University of Strasbourg is a memorial volume made up of essays written by the late Professor Georges Pariset under the title of *Études d'Histoire Révolutionnaire et Contemporaine* (Paris, Société d'Édition *Les Belles Lettres*, 1929, pp. xxxii, 328, 40 fr.). M. Pariset long taught at the University of Nancy, but was called to Strasbourg after Alsace was recovered, and died there in September, 1927. He will be longest remembered for the two volumes on the later Revolution and the Empire in the great work edited by Lavisse. It appears that his original text was much longer, and that whole chapters had to be omitted, in order to conform to the general plan of the work. These omitted passages form the bulk of the present volume. The volume is prefaced by a short sketch of M. Pariset's life and a list of his writings.

Those who read the review of Pinon's history of French diplomacy in the January number may find it interesting to compare his general conception of the policy of France with that presented by the distinguished diplomat, Jules Cambon, in *Foreign Affairs*, also for January, under the title of the Permanent Bases of French Foreign Policy. M. Cambon evidently has as strong a faith, as did the late M. Clemenceau, in the peace-preserving character of the balance of power. He remarks that France has always been the natural ally of small nations, but does not add that upon occasion she did not seem averse to an alliance with a power supposed to be overwhelmingly strong.

An able Paris *thèse de doctorat*, by E. Préclin, studies some of the theological movements within the Church which led up to the ecclesiastical legislation of the Constituent Assembly; they are sufficiently indicated by the title, *Les Jansénistes du XVIII^e Siècle et la Constitution Civile de Clergé; le Développement du Richérisme; sa Propagation dans le Bas Clergé, 1713–1791* (Paris, Gamber, 1929, pp. xxxi, 578). The author attaches more importance in this matter to Richerism than to Jansenism.

The posthumous publication of *Les Noms de Lieu de la France, leur Origine, leur Signification, leurs Transformations*, being a résumé of

lectures given at the École Pratique des Hautes Études by the late Auguste Longnon, edited by Paul Marichal and Léon Mirot, is now complete, the last two fascicles containing *Noms de Lieu d'Origine Féodale et Moderne* and an index (Paris, Champion, 1929, pp. xiii, 447–832).

The important *Histoire Générale du Droit Français Public et Privé des Origines à 1815* by the late Emile Chénon has reached the first fascicle of volume II., which covers for the feudal period the history of private law and for the period from the sixteenth century to 1789 the external history of the law and the subject of public law. The editing is being done by Olivier Martin, the author's friend and the successor to his chair in the Faculté de Droit (Paris, Recueil Sirey, 1929, pp. xiii. 575).

The northern and eastern borderlands of France, if they never saw greater destruction than in 1914–1918, suffered from more cruel ferocities of war; in Lorraine from 1632 to 1848, and in Picardy and Champagne from 1635 to 1659. Whole regions were well-nigh depopulated. Their miseries and the efforts of Saint Vincent de Paul to relieve them is the subject of an article by P. Coste in the January *Revue des Questions Historiques.*

Books of interest: Camille Jullian, *Au Seuil de Notre Histoire* (Paris, Boivin, 20 fr.); Pierre de Nolhac, *Autour de la Reine* (Paris, Tallandier, 25 fr.); Lieutenant Colonel Le Ménestrel, *Dreux pendant la Révolution* (Firmin-Didot, 35 fr.); Lucien Graux, *Le Maréchal de Beurnonville* (Paris, Champion, 60 fr.); Friedrich M. Kircheisen, ed., *Fürstenbriefe an Napoleon I.*, 2 v. (Stuttgart, Cotta, 10.50 M. each); Prince Sixte de Bourbon, *La Dernière Conquête du Roi, Alger, 1830* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, tomes I., II., 24 fr.); E. Vandervelde, *Jaurès* (Paris, Alcan, 12 fr.).

Noteworthy articles: Henri Courteault, *État Sommaire des Documents entrés aux Archives par Voies Extraordinaires (Dons, Achats, Échanges) de 1918 à 1928* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, Jan.–June, 1929); Ferdinand Lot, *L'État des Paroisses et des Feux de 1328*, I. (*ibid.*); Paul Raveau, *La Crise des Prix au XVI^e Siècle en Poitou* (Revue Historique, Sept., Dec.); A. Durengues, *Le Protestantisme en Agenais; l'Invasion Huguenote* [hostile to Huguenots] (Revue des Questions Historiques, Oct.); Antonino d'Alia, *Il Cardinale di Richelieu e lo Spirito Egemonico Francese* (Nuova Antologia, January 16); A. Rebillon, *La Situation Économique du Clergé Français à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime* [based on the documents which Rebillon edited for the Commission on the Economic History of the Revolution] (Révolution Française, Oct.); Abbé de Véri, *Souvenirs de l'Année 1778* [the American war and European diplomacy; Necker and the provincial assemblies] (Revue de Paris, Nov. 15); J. Peter and C. Poulet, *L'Église Constitutionelle du Nord pendant la Terreur, Août 1793–Juillet 1794* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Oct.); Albert Mathiez, *Le Coup d'État du 18 Fructidor An V.* [a struggle between corruptionists and reactionaries, in which the democratic popu-

lace took no interest] (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, Nov.); Sylvain Blot, *Le Second Empire; sa Préparation, d'après les Documents du Temps*, I.–IV., to be continued (Nouvelle Revue, Nov. 1–Dec. 15).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: G. Allemang, *Courrier Allemand* (Revue des Questions Historiques, Oct.); Lawrence D. Steefel, *Bismarck* (Journal of Modern History, March); Oscar Jászi, *Some Recent Publications concerning the Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (*ibid.*).

The lectures which Otto Hoetzsch, professor of History and International Relations at the University of Berlin, delivered at last summer's Institute of Politics have been published under the title of *Germany's Domestic and Foreign Policies* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929, pp. 116, $1.50). In the pages on internal conditions he answers such questions as "What is Germany economically?" and "What is Germany intellectually?" Probably the passages which the American reader will scan most carefully are those which touch foreign relations. Professor Hoetzsch writes of "Reparations" bitterly, as if it were "tribute", and his attitude shows how much wiser the treaty makers would have been to have used a traditional term like "indemnity", which means the same thing, but carries less sting. He evidently believes that only through revision of the territorial provisions of the treaties can peace be preserved. This applies especially to the Polish settlement, for he regards Poland not as reconstituted but as carved out of other states. It is through these annexed minorities that Poland "acquired what, as an independent state, it had never had before, namely a *bourgeoisie*".

An exhaustive, though not absolutely complete, collection of Johann Gustav Droysen's correspondence has been recently published by Rudolf Hübner (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1929, 2 vols., pp. xvi, 786, 1051). On the basis of this *Briefwechsel* and of his historical writings, Friedrich Meinecke has made in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXLI. 2, one of his characteristic and illuminating analyses of the great Prussian historian's thought and work. Droysen's theory of history found value only in dynamic power and movement. Hence he preferred Caesar and Alexander to Cato and Demosthenes. His early book on Alexander thus exhibited his strong-man psychosis; it also served a political end, by implicitly suggesting his belief in German unity through the Prussian military state. In seeming contradiction, he then turned to the history of Hellenism, apparently a period of decline. The failure of the Frankfort parliament, in which he was active, turned his attention to the modern period. Out of this came his fine biography of Yorck and his gigantic *Geschichte der Preussischen Politik*. The book became a party document of vast importance. In his last days, Droysen gave formal development to the theory of history, implicit in these and many other writings. As against Ranke, he defended the validity of the subjective approach.

Quite different in his interests was Friedrich von Bezold, whose recent death gives occasion for another article in the same issue of the *Zeitschrift* by Gisbert Beyerhaus. Bezold was the artist rather than the nationalist; his life-work lay in the domain of *Kulturgeschichte*; his favorite periods were the Renaissance and Reformation. Yet he was not a romanticist like Burckhardt; underneath the artist in him was a strong current of human sympathy. This found expression in the biographical interest of his later period.

A summary account of the historical development of the order of Deaconesses and a statistical survey of its activity and institutions is found in Gottlob Grossmann's *Die Mitarbeit der Frau in der Evangelischen Liebestätigkeit in Deutschland von 1800 bis 1928* (Berlin, Verlag des Diakonievereins, 1928).

Count Julius Andrássy, who died last fall, has been sometimes called the "Shadow of a great name". To describe his characteristics and to define his position in Hungarian life is the aim of an article in *Europäische Gespräche* for January, written by Otto Forst de Battaglia of Vienna, whom circumstances brought into close association with him for a time. Dr. Battaglia regards him as primarily a man of intelligence and conscience, rather than of feeling. Andrássy believed in reforms from above. He was a magnate of the period of the "Enlightenment" set down in the nineteenth or the twentieth century.

A mine of material for the political as well as the legal historian is furnished by Eduard His in the *Geschichte des Neueren Schweizerischen Staatsrechts,* whose second volume, covering *Die Zeit der Restauration und Regeneratio 1814 bis 1848,* is now available (Basel, Helbing, 1929, pp. xxiii, 774).

In *England und die Schmalkaldaner,* Fr. Prueser has made a detailed study, hitherto lacking, of the negotiations between Henry VIII. and the Protestant princes of Germany (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1929, pp. 340).

Other books of interest: Paul Schöffel, *Das Urkundenwesen der Bischöfe von Bamberg im 13. Jahrhundert* (Erlangen, Palm und Enke, 1929, 6 M.); Peter Klassen, *Die Grundlagen des Aufgeklärten Absolutismus* (Jena, G. Fischer, 1929, 7 M.); K. Hugelmann, *Die Österreichischen Landtage im Jahre 1848.* Tl. I. (Vienna, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1929. 23 M.); Heinrich Otto Meisner, ed., *Friedrich III., Tagebücher von 1848–1866* (Leipzig, K. F. Koehler, 1929, 15 M.); Karl Griewank, ed., *Briefwechsel der Königin Luise mit ihrem Gemahl Friedrich Wilhelm III., 1793–1810* (Leipzig, K. F. Koehler, 1929, 15 M.); Karl Friedrich Nowak, *Das Dritte Deutsche Kaiserreich,* Bd. I. (Berlin, Verlag für Kulturpolitik, 1929, 10 M.); Paul Hirsch, *Der Weg der Socialdemokratie zur Macht in Preussen* (Berlin, O. Stolberg, 1929, 7.50 M.); William Schüssler, ed., *Aus Bismarcks Bundesrat: Aufzeichnungen d. Mecklenburg-Schwerinschen 2. Bundesratsbevollmächtigten Karl Oldenburg aus d. J. 1878–1885* (Berlin, R. Hobbing, 1929, 5.20 M.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Frahm, *Die Entwicklung des Suebenbegriffs in der Antiken Literatur* [in earlier usage, Germani, a race similar to Kelts, but larger and wilder, living on right bank of Rhine, Suevi, a people occupying territory between Rhine and Elbe or beyond, having characteristics of nomadic Scythians; in later usage the term is limited to particular peoples] (Klio, XXIII. 2); Theodor Wotschke, *Der Pietismus in Thüringen* [extracts from pietist documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries] (Thüringisch-Sächsische Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, XVIII. 1); Erich Neuss, *Geschichte der Golgasdruckerei von Matheus Wucherer in Halle a. Saale* [history, statistics, and technical processes of a German factory from 1730 to 1854] (*ibid.*); Kurd von Schlözer, *Politische Berichte aus Petersburg* [chargé d'affaires of Prussian embassy to Russia during Bismarck's absence, summer of 1861] (Preussische Jahrbücher, Jan.); Andrea Torre, *Il Principe di Bülow e la Politica Mondiale Germanica* (Nuova Antologia, Dec. 1); Francesco Tommasini, *Il Pensiero e l'Opera di Gustavo Stresemann* (*ibid.*, Nov. 16).

ITALY AND SPAIN

Although the name Fiume no longer serves as a "head-liner", its history is interesting, and this has now been written by an Italian professor who had a share in the annexation of the town. The title is *Storia del Commune di Fiume* (Florence, Bemporad, 1929, 25 l.). Fiume had a miscellany of suzerains, bishops, lords, counts, and finally the Apostolic King of Hungary. Its official tongue was Latin, but Italian eventually became the language of daily life. An irredentist movement did not begin, however, until the shortsighted administration of Hungary initiated a Magyarizing policy. The account of the period between the collapse of Hapsburg authority in October, 1918, and the advent of D'Annunzio, contains much that is new.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Giuseppe Lesca, *Lettere di Niccolò Machiavelli* [discussion of the correspondence] (Nuova Antologia, Nov. 1); *Reliquie Inedite di Galileo Galilei* (*ibid.*, Jan. 1); Hans Roger Madol, *Der Aufstieg Manuel Godoy's* (Preussische Jahrbücher, Jan.); Francesco Trucco, *Congiure e Conspiratori in Piemonte nel 1831 e nel 1833* (Rivista di Storia, Arte, Archeologia per la Provincia di Alessandria, July–Sept.); Giovanni Jachino, *Documenti Inediti Intorno all' Assedio di Alessandria nel 1657* (*ibid.*); Alessandrio Luzio, *I Carteggi Cavouriani; una Lettera di Cavour al Conte Vimercati; l'Avvocato Cabella a Cavour* (Nuova Antologia, Jan. 16); Thomas Ashby, *Scrittori Contemporanei di Cose Romane: Rodolfo Lanciani* [sketch and bibliography of 639 items] (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, LI. 1–2); Yvonne Bezard, *Le Président de Brosses et les "Lettres Familières sur l'Italie"* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, Sept.).

NORTHERN EUROPE

H. Aschehoug and Company, Oslo, announces the publication of a new coöperative history of the Norwegian people: *Det Norske Folks Historie gjennem Tidene.* The work will be prepared by Haakon Shetelig, Edvard Bull, Snorre Steen, and Wilhelm Keilhau and will appear in ten volumes.

In *Stedsnavne og Gudeminder i Land* Magnus Olsen continues his study in the prehistoric religion of the Norwegians through a close analysis of place names in Land, a district in eastern Norway.

Our Forefathers, the Gothonic Nations, a Manual of the Ethnography of the Gothic, German, Dutch, Anglo-Saxon, Frisian, and Scandinavian Nations (Cambridge, 1929), by the eminent Danish philologist, Gudmund Schütte, is a restatement of the author's somewhat unconventional ideas of European history in the migration period.

In the Swedish *Historisk Tidskrift,* 1929, 1, Per Wieselgren shows how a close scrutiny of the facts recorded in *Egils Saga* brings unexpected support to the view recently presented by Professor Halvdan Koht, that the chronology of the early Norwegian kings needs a thorough revision.

In the current volume (XIX.) of *Islandica* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1929, pp. 80), an annual publication issued by Cornell University Library, Dr. Halldór Hermannsson traces the history and the wanderings of the books produced or copied in medieval Iceland, many of which have found their way to distant lands,—the Northern countries, the British Isles, France, and the United States.

Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina (Helsingfors, 1929), by the Finnish medievalist, Gustav Adolf Donner, is a learned and detailed study of an Italian ecclesiastic who as papal legate made four visits to the Northern and the Baltic states in the thirteenth century.

The recent dispute between the governments of Denmark and Norway about certain rights on the east coast of Greenland has developed a lively interest on the part of scholars in the earlier history of that region. The most important work along this line is Jón Dúason's recent study on 'the political and constitutional status of Greenland in the Middle Ages': *Grønlands Statsretslige Stilling i Middelalderen* (Oslo and Copenhagen [1928], pp. 216). Dr. Dúason concludes that Greenland never was a separate political entity but was a part of the Icelandic commonwealth and remained in this relation to Iceland even after this island had become a dependency of the Norwegian crown.

In 1907 the Commission for the Publication of Norwegian Historical Sources determined to publish all acts and documents dealing with the sessions of the Norwegian 'estates' during the years 1548–1661 and Dr. Oscar Albert Johnsen undertook to collect and edit the materials. The

first volume of this undertaking, parts of which began to appear in 1910, has now been published in completed form: *Aktstykker til de Norske Stændermøders Historie, 1548–1661* (Oslo, 1929, pp. vii, 754). In a forthcoming second volume Professor Johnsen expects to publish such documents as have to do with the movement to establish an absolutist system in 1661.

Among the publications of the historical seminar at the University of Oslo is a study by Jonas Jansen entitled *Björkötraktaten*, 'an episode in the higher politics of Europe' (Oslo, 1929, pp. 216). The study deals with the meeting of the Czar and the Kaiser at Björkö on the Finnish coast in 1905, with the secret treaty of alliance drawn up and signed at that meeting, and with its early repudiation by the Russian government.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Joseph Sandström, *Några Bidrag til Stockholms Blodbad* [contributions to the history of the 'blood-bath' in Stockholm] (Historisk Tidskrift [Swedish], 1929, 4); Oscar Albert Johnsen, *Kilder i Udenlandske Samlinger til Norsk Handels- og Sjøfarts Historie* [sources in foreign archives for the history of Norwegian trade and maritime activities] (Historisk Tidsskrift [Norwegian], 1929, 5); Erik Granlund, *Ortnamnen i Smålands Bebyggelseshistoria* [place names in the history of settlement in Småland] (Fornvännen, 1929, 1).

L. M. L.

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress are: a plantation letter book of John Chesnut, 1794–1805; correspondence, some 300 letters, of Mrs. Ralph Izard and her daughter, Mrs. Gabriel Manigault, 1800–1814; a brief autobiography of James Madison; 19 letters of John Randolph of Roanoke to Josiah Quincy, 1812–1825; 30 letters of John C. Calhoun and Armistead Burt to Henry W. Conner, 1843–1850; letter book of the Confederate Secretary of War, Feb. 21 to Sept. 15, 1861; additions to the Giddings-Julian collection; papers of Madeline McDowell Breckinridge; papers of Moorfield Storey, Joseph H. Choate, and John Purroy Mitchel; a group of papers of Robert Browning; 45 volumes of transcripts from the Archives of the Inquisition in Mexico, presented by Mr. E. R. G. Conway; and three months' additions to the collection of photostats and photo-films from England, France, Spain, Italy, Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and Mexico, many thousands in number.

Of the publications undertaken by the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington two are in press: vol. III. of L. F. Stock's *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America*, covering the years 1703–1727, and vol. I. of the series edited by Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*. In this volume is described the development of the trade from 1441 to 1700. Obviously neither in this volume

nor in its successor, which will deal with the struggle between the monopoly form of trade and the ventures of individual merchants, is attention concentrated on the trade with the American continent. This can only be understood if placed in its proper setting. The continental trade will, however, be the subject of vol. III. Massachusetts and Rhode Island, as the chief trading colonies, Virginia, as the most important border market, and South Carolina, as the great market of the South, will be studied with especial care.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1929 (XXXIX. 1), has an account of the Spanish manuscripts of the Florida State Historical Society, by its editor, Dr. James A. Robertson; a survey of forty years of research and exploration in Yucatan, by the veteran Edward H. Thompson; a paper on the Development of the Clipper Ship, by Rev. Charles E. Park; and 140 pages of bibliography of American cookery books prior to 1860.

The new issue of the *Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of America, vol. XXII., pt. 1, 1928 (University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. 68), is mainly devoted to Canada. Reginald G. Trotter contributes a Bibliography of Canadian Constitutional History; Fred Landon, Some Notes on the Bibliography of Canadian History; and R. L. Reid, British Columbia: a Bibliographical Sketch. Rafael Heliodoro Valle discusses Bibliographical Coöperation between Mexico and the United States. The other two contributions concern the photostatic reproduction of newspapers, by W. W. Bishop, and the project for a Bibliography of American Travel, by S. J. Buck.

In the January number of the *Journal of Negro History* Avery O. Craven writes on Poor Whites and Negroes in the Ante-Bellum South; William M. Brewer, on Poor Whites and Negroes in the South since the Civil War, Irvin C. Mollison on Negro Lawyers in Mississippi, and Luther P. Jackson on Religious Instruction of Negroes, 1830 to 1860, with special reference to South Carolina. Professor Craven asserts that "the South was so varied in its make-up that no generalization can hold from place to place and time to time"; yet he finds that upon the whole the conditions of life among the two classes were not very dissimilar. Both classes "suffered heavily from the great forces of expansion that worked in Southern life". Mr. Brewer presents the story of the post-bellum period as chiefly an economic struggle between the two classes. The war emancipated, not the negroes alone, but the poor whites as well, and with the industrial revolution in the South, the latter came into their own.

Bulletin 91 of the Bureau of American Ethnology entitled *Additional Studies of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians,* by Walter E. Roth, deals especially with the Indians of southern British Guiana. It is elaborately illustrated. Bulletin 93, *Pawnee Music,* by Frances Densmore, belongs to a series dealing with the music of many tribes.

The Grabhorn Press of San Francisco has reprinted, in a handsome limited edition of 300 copies, Buckingham Smith's translation of the *Relación* of Cabeza de Vaca, from the revised print which that translator put forth in 100 copies in 1871.

A handsome, illustrated, memorial volume, *The Tercentenary Year: Reformed Church in America, 1628–1928*, edited by Edgar Franklin Romig, has been published by the authorities of this church to record the exercises celebrating the founding of the first church in New Netherland. In an appendix is given the complete text of the Tercentenary Historical Pageant.

The second of the small volumes on American foreign policies issued under the auspices of the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations bears the title of *The United States and the Caribbean*, and includes three essays by Chester Lloyd Jones, Henry Kittredge Norton, and Parker Thomas Moon (University of Chicago Press [1929], pp. 230, $1.50). The first essay, with its brief but careful sketches of the recent history of each state in question, prepares the reader for the more controversial articles which follow. Mr. Norton paints in somber colors the conditions, and so appears to make intervention more reasonable, while Mr. Moon, in a penetrating but rather impatient criticism, seeks to convict the United States of the very imperialism our governmental spokesmen so uniformly disclaim. Both Mr. Norton and Mr. Moon agree that our policy is often lacking in firmness and coherence.

The *Recent Foreign Policy of the United States*, by Professor G. H. Blakeslee, of Clark University (Abingdon Press, 1925), has now appeared in a Japanese translation.

One of the most recent indications of European interest in things American is *Das Politische System Alexander Hamiltons 1789–1804* (Hamburg, Friedrichsen, 1929, Bd. 4, of the collection "Ueberseeische Geschichte").

This is the centennial year of the Oregon Trail, and the association which takes its name from the famous road is arranging for celebrations opening on April 10, the hundredth anniversary of the departure of the first wagon train from St. Louis, and closing on December 29, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ezra Meeker, who traveled to Oregon over the trail, and who did much to have the route suitably marked.

A *genre* picture of pioneer life in the middle and later nineteenth century is given in *Grandmother Brown's Hundred Years*, published by Little, Brown and Company as the Atlantic Monthly prize biography for 1929 (pp. xx, 369, $3.00). The story, familiar in one way or another to those whose families settled the Middle West, tells, from her own reminiscences, of Mrs. Brown's life in Ohio as a girl, and of life in Iowa on a farm and in a small town. It is the life story of a remarkable woman and of her family, and it is also a simple and truthful chronicle of one phase of American life.

Abbott Payson Usher explains in the October *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* the material facts which have governed the location of industries in the United States.

Adventurous America, by Edwin Mims (New York, Scribner, 1929, pp. 304, $2.50), is an essay in interpretation of present tendencies, and its attitude is in wholesome contrast to much contemporary criticism tinged by metropolitan distempers. Such a point of view should at least be considered by the historian in determining his selection of material for the recent history of this country. The chapter on the Jesters of the Republic is especially consoling.

Professor Benjamin F. Wright, of Harvard University, is the editor of a *Source Book of American Political Theory* (Macmillan, 1929, pp. xi, 644, $3.75). Explanatory notes by the editor, which help to give a sense of continuity, preface each chapter, from the Theocratical Ideal of Early New England to the last chapter on Some Recent Tendencies. What the editor speaks of as the "almost complete atrophy" of political theory following the Civil War is shown by the fact the first "source" after a selection from Calhoun's writings (1851) is one from Robert M. La Follette (1898). The book brings together for the first time much documentary material of interest and importance in American political theory.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Lieut. Col. W. W. Edwards, *From Colonial Times* [marches of Braddock and Bouquet] (Infantry Journal, Jan.); Capt. J. M. Ellicott, *The Capture of the Palmyra* [an incident of Spanish-American disturbances, 1822] (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, Jan.); Lieut. Col. Walter H. Smith, *Alexander Hamilton, Artilleryman* (Field Artillery Journal, Nov.–Dec.); Capt. William A. Rounds, *The First Judge Advocate General of the Army tries a Case* [case of Col. David Henley, Jan., 1778] (Quartermaster Review, Jan.–Feb.); D. Pasquet, *Pages d'Histoire Américaine: les Débuts du Canal et du Rail* (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, Jan. 15); Capt. Frank L. Pleadwell, *Ninian Pinkney (1811–1877), Surgeon United States Navy*, pt. I. (Annals of Medical History, Nov.).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

In the *New England Quarterly* for January, Isabel M. Calder explains the relations of John Cotton and the New Haven Colony. It appears that an intimacy sprang up between Davenport and Cotton in 1632 when Davenport was driven to take refuge in London. Miss Calder describes the development of Cotton's influence, the last piece of evidence being the verbal similarity between the New Haven Fundamental Orders of 1643 and a code which Cotton had drawn up six years after the removal of the Massachusetts Bay Company to New England. In the same number Samuel A. Johnson discusses the Genesis of the New England Emi-

grant Aid Society which had so much to do with the struggle for Kansas. Apropos of the approaching tercentenary Edwin D. Mead interprets the Meaning of Massachusetts.

The January number of the *Historical Collections* of the Essex Institute has, besides series in continuation, an article by Joseph B. Saunders on Salem and the Royal Charter, and another, by J. Foster Smith, entitled Stage Point and Thereabouts, a bit of research into ancient Salem.

The January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* contains an article by Charles Edward Banks entitled the Topographical Sources of English Emigration to the New England Colonies, 1620–1650. Mr. Banks has studied the origins of 2646 emigrants, analyzed the results, and exhibited them in tabulated form and in two maps of England.

It appears that the late Dr. George A. Gordon was engaged at the time of his sudden death last October upon an essay on the Puritan Contribution to our Time. His uncompleted manuscript has been printed in bulletin no. 27 of the *1930 News*. This bulletin also contains announcements of many local celebrations for the tercentenary.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for January contains pt. III. (1706–1722) of the list of Acts of French Royal Administration concerning Canada, Guiana, the West Indies and Louisiana prior to 1791, compiled by Lawrence C. Wroth and Gertrude L. Annan, upon the basis of Worthington C. Ford's French Royal Edicts, etc., on America. The *Bulletin* reports the gift of the professional library of Thomas Hastings, especially rich in classical French and Italian architectural works.

Memorials of Peter A. Jay (pp. 224), compiled for his descendants by his great-grandson, John Jay, printed for private circulation, is a worthy record of the life of a man, who, though not so distinguished as his younger brother, William Jay, yet himself achieved high rank as a jurist and was noted for his eminent intellectuality and moral excellence. Born in 1776, the eldest son of John Jay, he accompanied his father to England in 1794 as his private secretary, afterward entering the practice of law in New York. Though he held few public offices (he was a member of the New York constitutional convention of 1827 and sometime trustee of Columbia University), he took an active interest in affairs, political, financial, and philanthropic, and had throughout his life intimate contacts with public movements. Besides many of his own letters, the volume contains letters to him from persons of prominence, notably James Fenimore Cooper. Outstanding among his interests were the canal project and the abolition of slavery, although his death, which occurred in 1842, antedated the acute stages of that controversy. While this record of Peter A. Jay's life is designedly one of filial piety, it is nevertheless an agreeable and serviceable one for students of the period.

John Hill Morgan contributes to the January number of the New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* the first part of an account of John Ramage, the miniature painter (died 1802), with illustrations and documents.

The January number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society contains the address of William H. Speer, delivered before the society in October last, entitled the Future Usefulness of Historical Societies. The central theme of the address is an exhortation to historical societies to become an "active and fruitful instrumentality in the life of the world". Much of the address is occupied with discussions of significant developments of our time. Other articles are: the Scots in East New Jersey, by George S. Pryde; History of the Nassau Inn at Princeton, by V. L. Collins; the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779, by A. C. Flick; and Washington at Morristown 150 Years Ago, by Joseph S. Frelinghuysen.

In an article in the January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, entitled Who Wrote Stephen Girard's Will? Russell Duane offers positive proof that the will was drawn by William J. Duane, not by Horace Binney, as has been stated. The Cost of Old Silver is an extended documented study by H. E. Gillingham. In an article on Benjamin Franklin and Colonial Money, William R. Riddell gives some account of the money situation in the colonies prior to the Revolution, and offers a recently discovered document in proof of what has heretofore been only conjectured, that it was Franklin who assisted Governor Pownall in drawing up a plan for a general paper currency for America.

Mr. Isaac R. Pennypacker, president of the Valley Forge Park Commission, with a view to settling the mooted question pertaining to the site of the forge burned by the British in September, 1777, has brought out two pamphlets discussing the evidence: *The Valley Forge Burned by the British Troops, September, 1777, and an Analysis of the Myers Report* (pp. 17, dated June, 1929), and *The Burned Valley Forge: Judge Koch's Report and the Evidence contrary to its Conclusions* (pp. 23, November).

The January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Magazine* contains an article on the Early History of McKeesport, by Walter L. Riggs, and a first installment of the memoirs of W. C. Cronemeyer respecting the Development of the Tinplate Industry.

The University of Pittsburgh held its first Annual History Conference on March 8. At the session devoted to local history Frances Dorrance, secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, described its program, while H. H. Shenk explained that of the Federation of Historical Societies of Pennsylvania, of which he is secretary. Professor F. L. Paxson, of the University of Wisconsin, addressed the conference.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The *Letters of Richard D. Arnold, M.D.* (*1808–1876*), edited by Richard H. Shryock of Duke University, is issued as *Historical Papers* of Trinity College Historical Society, double series XVIII.–XIX. (Duke University Press, 1929, pp. 178). Dr. Arnold, the writer of these letters, born in Savannah of Northern parents, a graduate of Princeton, with a medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania, and for a few years resident at the Pennsylvania Hospital, spent the greater part of his life as a practicing physician in Savannah. He had nevertheless an extensive acquaintance among the medical profession in the North, especially in Philadelphia, was recognized as a leading physician of his section, made original studies of Southern fevers, took an active part in the formation of local, state, and national medical associations, was the first secretary of the American Medical Association. Besides holding other political offices, he was mayor of Savannah during the last years of the war, and it fell to his lot to surrender the city to General Sherman. Altogether he was a remarkable man, and Professor Shryock justly places him beside Rush, Holmes, and other physicians who distinguished themselves in other spheres as well as in medicine. His letters, which are addressed to statesmen, politicians, editors, physicians, as well as to personal friends and relatives, reveal Dr. Arnold's varied interests and afford close-up views of Southern life and culture during the period of more than forty years (1834–1875).

In the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for January, Hallie Farmer has written a brief but interesting chapter on the Economic Background of Southern Populism. Concentration on cotton growing, encouraged by the merchants, who refused credit on other crops, led the producer into a financial morass from which nothing in the Democratic program promised a rescue. In despair these farmers turned to the Populists. In the *Quarterly* is also an article by Julie Koch on Origins of New England Protestantism in New Orleans, which gives some curious information about the establishment of Presbyterian and Methodist churches after the "Purchase". Another article, by Winthrop M. Daniels, describes Constitutional Growth under the Fourteenth Amendment, how it has come about that this amendment, originally designed to protect the negro against unequal treatment, has become the refuge of great corporations, seeking to escape the control of state legislatures.

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains an article by Marcus Benjamin on Maryland in the Revolution, principally a résumé of the part taken by Maryland troops in various engagements, and one by John L. Sanford on the Battle of North Point (Sept. 12–14, 1814), together with a sketch of Gen. John Stricker, who commanded the American forces. There is also a contribution by Francis S. McGrath, which, though principally genealogical in character, is of interest for its revelation of intertwining family lines in Maryland history.

Lieut. Col. Edgar Erskine Hume, U. S. A., contributes to the January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* a paper entitled a Colonial Scottish Family: Establishment in Virginia of a Branch of the Humes of Wedderburn, illustrated by letters and other contemporary documents. The establishment of the Humes in Virginia was in consequence of "The Fifteen"; for the Humes of Wedderburn having espoused the Jacobite cause, Francis Hume, younger brother of Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, and the latter's son, George, were, in 1716, transported to Virginia, the former as an "indentured man".

In an article entitled How the Size and Character of Washington's Birthplace were ascertained by the Wakefield National Memorial Association, in the January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Charles Arthur Hoppin recapitulates the principal evidences on which the Association has based its conclusions, together with some additional evidence in support of those conclusions.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints in the January issue the third and final installment of the Memoirs of Philip Mazzei, translated by Dr. E. C. Branchi, and a group of Supplementary Documents (1697–1856), giving additional information concerning the four forms of the oldest building at William and Mary College. This series of documents is particularly timely in view of the restoration of old Williamsburg now in progress.

In an article on the Moravian Contribution to Colonial North Carolina, in the January number of the *North Carolina Historical Review*, Adelaide L. Fries tells the story of Moravian settlements in North Carolina and the development of their community life and industry, while William K. Boyd and Charles A. Krummel, annotator and translator, respectively, present some German Tracts concerning the Lutheran Church in North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century. The latter are a series of four *Lehrbücher für die Jugend in Nordcarolina*, outlined by a society of Helmstaedt professors (Leipzig, 1787–1789). Brigadier General George W. McIver contributes an article on North Carolinians at West Point before the Civil War, giving a list of the sixty-seven graduates of the period 1805–1860, with some account of their careers. A study of the Problems of South Carolina Agriculture after the Civil War is by Professor Francis B. Simpkins of Virginia State Teachers College.

The correspondence of Charles Garth, agent for South Carolina and Georgia, which has been appearing serially in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, reaches, in the January number, the year 1769 and includes Garth's letters of February, March, and April narrating circumstantially the proceedings of Parliament respecting the colonial grievances, particularly those of Massachusetts, the steps taken by the colonial agents in the matter, and the responses of the South Carolina committee of correspondence, July 7 and 29. There are also in this issue, besides continuations hitherto mentioned, a brief history of the achieve-

ments of the *Magazine* during the thirty years of its existence, and an account, by Mabel L. Webber, of Dr. John Rutledge and his descendants, including sketches of John and Edward Rutledge, Revolutionary statesmen.

The *History of the St. Andrew's Society of Charleston, South Carolina, 1729–1929,* by J. H. Easterby (Charleston, the Society), is the story of the oldest of the St. Andrew's societies and the progenitor of many of them. Organized originally by Scotchmen, though not limiting its membership to that nationality, the St. Andrew's Society, with charity as its fundamental purpose, has had a long and worthy life, counting through its two centuries many of the distinguished citizens of Charleston among its officers and members. Though suffering deeply from all our wars, as well as from other calamities, it still flourishes. It was in the St. Andrew's Hall, afterward burned, that the Secession convention held its sessions in Charleston.

The *Transactions* of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, no. 34 contains an address delivered before the society in April, 1929, by Arthur H. Hirsch of Ohio Wesleyan University on the life and work of Rev. Francis Le Jau (1665–1717), first rector of St. James Church, Goose Creek, and a sermon delivered before the society in October, 1928, by Rev. George J. Gongaware on the Protestant Reformation in France.

The George Peabody College for Teachers has issued *Georgia Journalism of the Civil War Period* (Contributions to Education, no. 58, pp. 134), by Rabun Lee Brantley. Dr. Brantley has found that within those five years (1860–1865), 111 newspapers and periodicals appeared in the state, of which number only nineteen have survived to the present time, fifty-nine of them having succumbed during the war and thirty-three of them since the war. A few born of the war had but a fleeting existence. Of the total number of issues only about one-fourth are known to have survived. The author presents an exhibit or descriptive check list of the papers of the period, gives a "glimpse" of the war-time journalism of the four principal cities, Atlanta, Macon, Savannah, and Columbus, describes the advertising of the period, gives an account of the war-time handicaps of publication—shortage of paper, ink, printers, difficulties in obtaining news, etc.—and presents some illustrative types of stories.

In the July number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* Mr. John S. Kendall tells the story of the Foreign Language Press of New Orleans concluding the account with a gossipy character sketch. James K. Greer, of the University of Texas, contributes the first three chapters of a study of Louisiana Politics in the period 1845–1861, of which the first chapter is a brief survey of racial, political, and economic conditions in the state, the second deals with the politics of the state as affected by the annexation of Texas and the presidential election of 1844, while the third is concerned with the war with Mexico and the revival of the Whigs, 1846–1847. Mr. Greer finds that the personal element was dominant in Lou-

isiana politics in this period in an unusual degree. Another item of special interest in this issue is a translation, by Rev. Louis Voss, of a monograph by the late Professor J. Hanno Deiler, originally published in German in 1889 (second enlarged edition in 1901), here entitled *The System of Redemption in the State of Louisiana,* with addenda by Mr. Voss. The paper is largely a collection of documentary materials pertaining to the conditions and treatment of redemptioners in Louisiana, and includes the story of Sally Müller, the white slave, particularly known from George W. Cable's narrative in *Strange True Stories of Louisiana.*

WESTERN STATES

Those whose interest in the history of Southern plantations was aroused by reading Phillip's fascinating book will find it deepened by the story of a Century of a Georgia Plantation, told by E. Merton Coulter in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December. It is based upon an extensive collection of documents in the possession of the author. He describes a strange situation growing out of the will of Marshall Keith, who died in 1841. Keith freed three of his slaves on the understanding that they were to go to Liberia; three others he freed, and gave them property enough so that they were able to try their fortunes in Ohio. The first three declined to leave Georgia, and the others repeatedly made efforts to return to the old plantation. Another suggestive article has as its subject Interstate Migration and Indiana Culture, by Robert LaFollette. The same number has articles on Ohio and the English Common Law by William T. Utter, and Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri by A. P. Nasatir. It also contains Worthington C. Ford's address at the Indianapolis meeting of the American Historical Association on Historical Societies—Living and Dead. The March number contains articles on the Authorship of Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies, by John Thomas Lee; Trade in Frontier Ohio, by Randolph C. Downes; the National Land System in the South, 1803–1812, by R. S. Cotterill; a continuation of Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri, by A. P. Nasatir; and Social Relations and Political Control in the Old Southwest, by Thomas P. Abernethy, ground similar to that covered by Professor Abernethy in his paper at Chapel Hill.

In the January number of *Mid-America* Paul J. Foik writes of the Early Explorers of the Southwest, describing particularly the exploits of Narvaez, Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, Fray Marcos de Niza, and Fray Juan Padilla; Peter Leo Johnson of the Port Washington Draft Riot of 1862, discussing the episode as a symptom and emphasizing the dearth of Catholic chaplains as one of the causes; and Howard E. Egan contributes a second article on Irish Immigration to Minnesota. The section of Documents contains a Plan of Fort Orleans (1723–1728) in the present Carroll County, Missouri, contributed by Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage.

The West Virginia Encyclopedia (Charleston, West Virginia Publishing Company, 1929, pp. 1052), prepared by Phil Conley as editor-in-chief, with the assistance of a corps of associate editors, treats in some manner about every conceivable topic in the life and history of the state —institutional, industrial, educational, religious, literary, etc. Particular attention is given to mining, manufacturing, and the like, including articles on the various operating companies. Under the category of associations and societies as many as eighty-three organizations are sketched, varying as widely in character as the West Virginia Academy of Science and the Girl Scouts. The work includes, of course, biographical sketches of all persons of prominence (with numerous portraits), sketches of counties, cities, and towns, as well as an outline of the history of all the executive and administrative departments of the state. The political history of the state is told at some length (62 pp.) by Professor E. C. Smith, of New York University. There are also articles on the natural history of the state, and an attractive feature of the volume is the many scenic illustrations.

As no. 35 of the Filson Club publications, Willard Rouse Jillson, state geologist of Kentucky, has edited Filson's *Kentucke*, reproducing in facsimile the original Wilmington edition of 1784 (Louisville, J. P. Morton Company, 1929, pp. x, 198). The editor has supplemented the text with critical notes and a brief biography of John Filson. He has added a bibliography, listing the original edition, certain Filson manuscripts, and books which utilize Filson's work or refer to him. In the appendix is a letter from Lawrence Martin, chief of the Division of Maps, Library of Congress, discussing the editions and facsimiles of the Filson map. There is also included a folded map, a facsimile of the first Philadelphia 1784 *Map of Kentucke* by John Filson. To the January number of the *Filson Club History Quarterly* Otto H. Rothert contributes an account of John Dabney Shane (1812–1864), the Western collector, and his labors in collecting historical materials.

Among the contents of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society are: Excerpts from the Executive Journal of Governor Isaac Shelby (continued); a collection of items from newspapers concerning Revolutionary soldiers, compiled by Nina M. Visscher; an account of Harrod's Old Fort (with facsimiles of pages of Van Cleve's memorandum), by Dr. Willard R. Jillson; and Thomas Lincoln's Accounts with the Elizabethtown Merchants, by O. M. Mather.

The *Annual Report* (1929) of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio records the acquisition of a number of manuscripts, including two liturgies in the Delaware language, prepared by Rev. David Zeisberger, a record of purchases, sales, prices, etc., kept by a citizen of Cincinnati, 1814–1848; minutes of the Warren County Agricultural Society, 1849–1868, kept by Josiah Morrow, and other manuscripts of Mr. Morrow pertaining to that county.

The *Michigan History Magazine* has in the winter number a paper by Professor Louis C. Karpinski of the University of Michigan describing the manuscript maps pertaining to American history to be found in European archives, with some account of those in the Burton Collection in Detroit and the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor. In an article entitled Greece and Michigan, Mr. Charilaos Lagoudakis recounts particularly the interest which the citizens of Detroit manifested in the Greek revolution; Professor James B. Ranck discusses the part which Lewis Cass had in the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty; Roscoe Conkling Fitch writes a biographical account of Lieutenant John Fitch, Inventor of the Steamboat; and Sister Mary Rosalita contributes, with an introduction, some correspondence (1808–1811) concerning the Spring Hill Indian School of Father Gabriel Richard, one of the earliest attempts at Indian education in Michigan. The correspondence is chiefly between Federal government officials and Father Richard and includes letters of Jefferson, Solomon Sibley, and Gabriel Duval.

In the *Indiana Magazine of History*, December issue, I. J. Cox relates a chapter in the Burr Conspiracy, chiefly those phases of the episode that center about the project for building a canal around the falls of the Ohio, with particular attention to the part taken by Davis Floyd in the Burr affair. George S. Cottman recounts the beginnings of the *Magazine*, and J. W. Parker tells how, in 1852, capital was raised for the Richmond and Logansport Railroad.

The Indiana Historical Society, which was organized December 11, 1830, is preparing to celebrate in an appropriate manner its centennial. A brief article concerning the society's achievements during these hundred years appears in the January number of the *Indiana History Bulletin*.

In a short monograph, *Life in Old Vincennes* (Indiana Historical Society *Publications*, vol. VIII., no. 9), Lee Burns describes economic and social conditions in the Vincennes of 1778 and afterward, when the territorial government was established under William Henry Harrison and new settlers had taken up their residence there.

In the October number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society Arthur H. Hirsch discourses upon Historical Values in the Mid-Century Literature of the Middle West, explaining that while the literary critic may find many productions of little value, the historian may discover in them much information on life and institutions. Professor Hirsch seems inclined to believe that these obscure authors succeeded in "creating an invaluable body of literature for the record it contains of the development of a wilderness society and the organization of institutions during a period unique in American history". One of the writers whom Professor Hirsch discusses is James Hall. One phase of Hall's career, that at Shawneetown, 1820–1827, as lawyer, editor of the *Illinois Gazette*, politician, and judge, is discussed by Esther Shultz. A further study of him is to appear in the January number of the *Journal*.

The two principal articles in the December number of *Minnesota History* are: William Joseph Snelling and the Early Northwest, by Allen E. Woodall, and Martin McLeod and the Minnesota Valley, by Charles J. Richey. William Joseph Snelling, son of that Colonel Josiah Snelling for whom Fort Snelling was named, is of less importance for his connection with events of early Minnesota history than he is for his writings dealing with episodes and characters of the Northwest. Mr. Richey depicts the career of McLeod as fur trader, territorial delegate, and promoter of towns and cities and other great enterprises.

The *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* prints in the October number the Journal of the Atkinson-O'Fallon Expedition, May to October, 1825, from Fort Atkinson up the Missouri to the mouth of Red Water Creek and return. This Journal is regarded as important for the history of the Missouri valley.

The *Annals of Iowa* prints in the January number the Journal of Lieutenant T. W. Wheelock of the campaign of Colonel Henry Dodge and his regiment of dragoons on the plains in the summer of 1834.

The fact that within the next ten years will come the centennial of many events in the early history of Iowa is the *raison d'être* of the interesting article on Some Beginnings in Iowa, by William J. Petersen, with which opens the January *Iowa Journal of History and Politics.* A second article gives the Story of Mahlon Day Collins, which is an autobiography of an Iowa pioneer, with a brief introduction and a continuation from 1856, by Hubert E. Collins.

In the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* appear two biographical articles, the one, by North Todd Gentry, of Colonel William F. Switzler (1819–1906), editor and publisher of the *Missouri Statesman,* 1843–1888, the other, by Thomas B. Hall, of Dr. John Sappington (1776–1856), practicing physician in Tennessee and Missouri, manufacturer of "Anti-Fever Pills", author of *The Theory and Treatment of Fevers* (Philadelphia, 1844). The article is especially concerned with developments in medicine in the first half of the nineteenth century. Other contents of this issue, besides continuations, are: a long letter from John Wilson, a Missouri lawyer, written from San Francisco, April 12, 1850, and a Study of Early Days in Randolph County, 1818–1860, by Walter H. Ryle.

The January number of the *Colorado Magazine* is devoted entirely to a record of the 1929 archæological expedition of the State Historical Society of Colorado in coöperation with the Smithsonian Institution.

The December number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* contains a Brief Outline of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations in the Indian Territory, 1820–1860, by Muriel H. Wright, assisted by Peter J. Hudson, and the second installment of Dan W. Peery's paper entitled the First Two Years, being an account of the beginnings of Oklahoma. Beginning

of Methodism in Indian Territory consists of excerpts from the forthcoming work of J. Y. Bryce, *The Story of Methodism in Oklahoma*. Unfortunately the proof-reader nodded now and then.

The principal paper in the January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* is a history of the Consular Service of the Republic of Texas, by Alma Howell Brown. The system had its beginnings with the appointment at the close of 1835 of a few agents in the United States and gradually developed until, in 1845, the republic had a well-organized consular system, with representatives in most of the important ports of Europe as well as of the United States. R. L. Biesele tells the story of the short-lived San Saba Colonization Company (1839–1844).

An article by Thomas Kearney in the January number of the *New Mexico Historical Review*, entitled Kearney and "Kit" Carson as interpreted by Stanley Vestal is chiefly a criticism of certain parts of Vestal's volume, *Kit Carson, a Happy Warrior of the Old West*, which is here characterized as "the brilliantly entertaining, but apparently unfactual life of a supposedly famous 'foe' of Maj. Gen. Stephen Watts Kearney". The article is followed by a group of Kearney letters, 1807–1848. In the same issue France V. Scholes has an initial paper on the Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century.

The January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains an article by Gertrude Cunningham on the Significance of 1846 to the Pacific Coast. The paper is an examination into the policies of the United States, Great Britain, and Mexico, especially concerned in the destiny of the Coast. It happened that the questions involved were principally determined in the year 1846. The documentary publication is Broughton's Reconnaissance of the San Juan Islands in 1792, edited by J. Neilson Barry.

The *Honolulu Mercury*, edited by David Earl, began its career last June. Several of the articles in that or later numbers are of interest to historical students. One of these is Thomas Manby's Journal of Vancouver's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean (1791–1793). Light on the same voyage is contributed by Edward Bell's Log of the *Chatham*. A contribution to the history of Captain Cook is made in the Journal of Captain Charles Clarke from February 14, 1779, when he succeeded Cook in command of the *Resolution*. The numbers of the *Mercury* from June to February contain successive chapters of Bishop Restarick's biography of Sun Yat-sen.

At its recent annual meeting Albert Pierce Taylor was named secretary of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

CANADA

In an article entitled the Assault on the Laurentian Barrier, 1850–1870, in the December number of the *Canadian Historical Review*, Mr.

A. R. M. Lower presents an interesting study of the political influence of what is known as the Canadian Shield or Laurentian Barrier, that "vast region of lakes, rocks, and forest, which . . . interposes the most formidable of obstacles between the usable regions of the East and the fertile areas of the West . . . has determined the direction and rate of the country's growth in the past, and doubtless will continue to be a decisive factor in its expansion in the future". The present article describes the first contacts of Canada's population with the Barrier and the slow growth of knowledge concerning it. Mr. A. G. Morice, following up his article concerning "Spanish John" [Macdonell], in the September number, contributes some Sidelights on the Careers of Miles Macdonell and his Brothers, sons of John.

An important document for the history of the fur trade in the Canadian Northwest has appeared in the *Journal of Duncan McGillivray*, with an introduction and notes by Arthur S. Morton, of the University of Saskatchewan (Toronto, Macmillan, 1929, 31 s.). McGillivray was stationed at Fort George and was the agent of the North-West Company. His theory that the "love of Rum is the Indian's first inducement to industry" is unexpected, because tradition has it that "fire-water" was the ruin of the "noble savage". It is doubtless true, as he says further, that the Indians, like certain modern pale-faces, would "undergo every hardship and fatigue to procure a skinfull of this delicious beverage", and so would serve well the interests of the fur traders.

The records of land grants in Upper Canada, 1787–1791, which make up the *Seventeenth Report* of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario, edited by Alexander Fraser, are of interest to citizens on either side of the international boundary, for they deal with the process of settlement of Ontario and at the same time show the rewards in land claimed by the Loyalists in the late colonies. Here, for example, Nathaniel Petit, a judge for ten years in New Jersey, "prays for a captain's allowance of land at Niagara".

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. P. Insh, *Sir William Alexander's Colony at Port Royal* [1621–1631] (Dalhousie Review, January); A. H. Young, *The Church of England in Upper Canada, 1791–1841* (Queen's Quarterly, Winter).

THE CARIBBEAN

An illuminating account of slavery in the British West Indies during the transition period will be found in the *Journal of a West India Proprietor, 1815–1817* (London, Routledge, 15 s.) by M. G. (Monk) Lewis, edited by Mona Wilson. Lewis sailed for Jamaica with the aim of seeing for himself the conditions of the problem. It is interesting to note his regret that slavery even "in its most mitigated form" had ever found legal sanction, and yet his conviction that to end it would produce worse mischiefs, because the negroes seemed utterly irresponsible, at best, like

amiable children. He apparently succeeded in removing grievances from his own estate. His death on the voyage home was due to yellow fever contracted in an attempt to protect his slaves from its dangers.

Among the recent publications of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba are addresses on *González Alcorta y la Libertad de Cuba,* by Dr. Emeterio S. Santovenia y Echaide; *José Manuel Mestre,* by Emeterio S. Santovenia y Echaide; *Manuel de la Cruz,* by Antonio L. Valverde y Maruri; *José Antonio Echeverría,* by Juan Miguel Dihigo y Mestre; and *La Comisión Militar Ejecutiva y Permanente de la Isla de Cuba,* by Captain Joaquín Llaverías. This is a detailed history of the extraordinary military tribunal which functioned in Cuba from 1825 to 1869 and which was one of the principal weapons of the Spanish government in dealing with conspiracies and revolutionary movements during that period. The study discusses the organization of the tribunal and describes the principal cases with which it dealt and the difficulties which it caused with certain foreign powers. A number of documents are printed as appendixes.

MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA

General review: Georges Pillement, *La Vie en Amérique Latine* (Revue de l'Amérique Latine, December).

In the *Hispanic American Historical Review,* February, Cecil Jane contributes an article that seriously questions the common assumption that Columbus personally announced the success of his first voyage by a letter sent both to Luis de Santangel and Gabriel Sánchez. Mr. Jane presents a carefully reasoned view that copies of a letter announcing the success of the first voyage of Columbus were distributed by the Catholic monarchs "ad certi consieri". In other articles Watt Stewart gives a résumé of Argentina's attitude toward the Monroe Doctrine, 1824–1828, while Rising L. Morrow discusses the issues involved in the policy of the United States toward Nicaragua in 1894. In the Notes, Thomas P. Martin describes the Spanish Archive Materials and Related Materials in Other National Archives copied for the Library of Congress by the Rockefeller Project 'A' Gift Fund. The Bibliographical section prints a list of the manuscripts concerning Hispanic America in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library.

No. 31 of the *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano* is entitled *Algunos Documentos sobre el Tratado de Guadeloupe y la Situación de México durante la Invasión Americana.* This number would be more useful to American scholars if mention had been made of the particular archives or publications from which these documents were taken that mirror Mexican sentiment concerning the war with the United States and the Treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo.

A *Historia de Venezuela desde el Descubrimiento hasta 1830,* by Dr. Eloy G. González, is to be published at government expense in honor of the Bolívar anniversary.

No. 46 of the *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* of Venezuela reprints from the *Mercurio Peruano* an article by Victor A. Belaúnde on the federation of the Andes, another by Eduardo Posada on that erratic preceptor of Bolívar named Simón Rodríguez, and an installment of a census of various houses of Caracas prepared in 1806. No. 47 of this bulletin prints the second and concluding installment of that census as well as an installment of documents on Venezuelan colonial history. This number also contains an article by Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois concerning Miranda and the origins of Spanish-American independence. It publishes from the French archives a memoir of François de Pons regarding the cession of Trinidad to England in 1801.

Under the title *El Día Histórico,* José E. Machado reprints in one volume a collection of brief articles containing information about important events of certain days in Venezuelan history. These articles were originally published from day to day in *El Universal* of Caracas beginning October 1, 1922.

No. 41 of the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* contains an article on "La Biblioteca del Virrey-Arzobispo del Nuevo Reino de Granada, Antonio Caballero y Góngora" by José Torre Revello. It also contains documented articles entitled "Una descripción en verso del Nuevo Mundo (siglo XVI)" by León Baidaff and "Mapa del viaje de Molina" by Ricardo Caillet-Bois, as well as another installment of a list of documents in the national Argentine archives.

Volume II. of the publications of the historical archives of the province of Buenos Aires entitled *Cedulario de la real audiencia de Buenos Aires* contains cédulas concerning the second audiencia of Buenos Aires, 1783–1790.

The first volume of a "Biblioteca de Historia Argentina y Americana" published under the auspices of the Junta de Historia y Numismática of Buenos Aires is entitled *Estudios de Historia y Arte Argentinos* by Antonio Dellepiane.

No. 242 of *Nosotros* of Buenos Aires is a symposium by Argentinian writers on the late Paul Groussac, critic, littérateur, and historian, who for many years served as director of the National Library of Argentina.

The Oxford University Press has recently published a book by Cecil Jane on *Liberty and Despotism in Spanish America,* which inaugurates a series that is being prepared under the auspices of Salvador de Madariaga, professor of Spanish Studies in Oxford University.

W. S. R.

Note

There appears to be some difference of opinion as to whether Nathaniel Bowditch made four or five voyages. This question was raised in the October number of the *Review* in an article on the *Dictionary of American Biography.* The decision turns on the question whether a

voyage to Europe begun at Salem in August, 1798, from Europe back to Salem and Boston, thence on July 23, 1799, to the East Indies and return was counted as a single voyage or as two voyages. Professor R. C. Archibald, the author of the Bowditch article in the *Dictionary*, submits the following facts: "For each of the journals of the second to the fifth voyages in Bowditch's handwriting, in the Boston Public Library, there is a special title page; for example, in the case of the fourth voyage, 'Journal of a voyage from Boston to India in the ship *Astrea*, Henry Prince, master, begun at Boston, July 23, 1799'. The sons of Bowditch naturally knew that their father made five voyages. This is definitely stated in N. I. Bowditch's official biography of his father (for example, in the third ed., 1884, p. 27). In the biography by another son, Henry I., the same fact is brought out by references to the two voyages between 1798 and 1800 as the 'third' and 'fourth' (1841 edition, p. 46; 1870 edition, p. 62)." Professor Edwin B. Hewes, at the request of the reviewer, Professor A. M. Schlesinger, states his view that Bowditch treated the voyages of these years as a single whole, continuing the same journal. Mr. Hewes says further that "this view is substantiated by the manuscript records in the Salem custom house and the Richard H. Derby records in the Essex Institute. The purpose of the Mediterranean trip was to collect dollars and goods for Batavia, but due to the European wars a call at Salem was necessary to give the goods a neutral character before they were reshipped to a Dutch colony. Further light is shed upon the situation by the fact that in those days a voyage was not considered terminated until the crew had been paid off, and this was not done between April 6 and July 23", the date of the return from Europe and that of sailing for Java. Mr. Hewes also remarks that "the following authors were careful to state that only four voyages had been made: John Pickering, *Eulogy of Nathaniel Bowditch* (Boston, 1838), p. 37; and Daniel Appleton White, *An Eulogy on the Life and Character of Nathaniel Bowditch* (Salem, 1838), pp. 23–24."

The contributors to the Historical News are: Arthur E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan, Gray C. Boyce, of Princeton University, Edmund C. Burnett, of the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, Francis A. Christie, of Lowell, Massachusetts, Eugene N. Curtis, of Goucher College, J. F. Jameson, of the Library of Congress, Laurence M. Larson, of the University of Illinois, Dana C. Munro, of Princeton University, William S. Robertson of the University of Illinois, and Leo F. Stock, of the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution.